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Development Administration in East Africa
by Guy Hunter

The District Officer in India to-day
by Haridwar Rai

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by Brian C. Smith

The Establishment of the Fijian Administration: Part II
by Dr. Francis West

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Notes to Contributors

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Editor's Notes

THE 1966 Cambridge University Overseas Studies Committee Annual Conference ended to the strains of the pipes of the Irish Guards on the 17th September.

The subject was "How to make aid more effective through co-operation" and it was attended by participants from forty countries, a record. Among those present were also a galaxy of distinguished members of international agencies concerned with aid and from the academic world. Presiding over all was the irrepressible Dr. R. E. Robinson, D.F.C. of St. John's College who as ever combined the atmosphere of an R.A.F. mess with that of the Senior Common Room, in his own distinctive way. We now await his report on the Conference.

We make no apology for drawing attention to this Conference in a Journal devoted to Administration, for without efficient administration at all levels down to the village, the best laid plans for aid cannot bear fruit, so in our *Quarterly Notes* we have included comments on the Conference from a cross section of participants.

Emerging from the Olympian heights of the Conference where the problems of aid as they impinge on donors and recipients were studied as national and international problems by high level administrators, experts and academics, it is appropriate to turn our attention to "grass roots", and to ponder the lessons to be found in the article written by Guy Hunter on Development Administration in this edition of the Journal.

Man's concern is with the advancement of all mankind. This involves finding the ways and means of bringing into being in all countries those environmental conditions which enable the people who inhabit them to lead truly full and satisfying lives. The necessary conditions exist in different countries in differing degree, and it has become popular to divide the world between those countries where reasonable conditions for full livelihood exist and those where they do not; designating in the current jargon, the former as "developed" and the latter as "developing" countries.

It is with the developing countries that we are primarily concerned and it is true to say that in the so called developed countries there is a growing sense of responsibility both individually and collectively for assisting in and accelerating the development of less advanced peoples.

High level agencies and forms of bi-lateral, multi-lateral and internationally co-ordinated aid for development are of prime importance, for we cannot afford to withhold, to misuse, or to have misused the limited resources available. Equally important and complementary to the planning of development and the co-ordinated marshalling of aid is the administration of development on the ground; while at both levels there is a need to appreciate the basic conditions which exist in developing countries, conditions which have been freshly described in Professor Riggs, "Administration in Developing Countries" which was fully reviewed in the October issue of the Journal.

We may well ask ourselves how those who are concerned with planning development can be helped to understand the problems involved and to put them into true perspective. One answer, we suggest, may lie in the Institute of Development Studies which has recently been founded by the Ministry

of Overseas Development of the United Kingdom Government with the co-operation of the University of Sussex.

This autonomous institution situated on the campus of the University, about four miles from Brighton, is to conduct teaching and research on the problems of developing countries and on international co-operation in relation to them. The 1962 Cambridge Conference referring to a suggestion made by Dr. Robinson its Chairman, that an Institute of Development Studies should be established in Britain recorded that:

> "we would welcome the realization of such a proposal as a measure which would maintain the momentum of British aid in the field. It is hoped that the Institute would provide a home for a corpus of teachers, administrators and specialists engaged on work of this kind and, in its day-to-day work, the institute would provide a centre for training, research and the exchange of experience, particularly Asian, African and Latin American. It would be important that the Institute, like any other outside Africa, should complement rather than compete with other institutions in this field."

It is therefore pleasing to see from the published programme of the Institute that it is proposed to conduct much of its research and teaching on an inter-disciplinary basis. In other words that it has been appreciated that the problems of development are closely inter-related and that the monster which inhibits progress is many headed. It would seem that here at last we are to have an institution with a single practical objective which, we hope, is to escape from the strict academic requirement of specialised study within separate water-tight compartments.

We hope that while concerning itself with the integrated nature of all aspects of development problems, the Institute will keep an eye on all levels in the process of development. There is little use in providing the computor without the operator. It would be so easy for an institution such as this new Institute of Development Studies situated, as it is, in a developed country, to fall into the error of treating the problems of development in developing countries in a manner which pre-supposes the existence of administrations and reserves of education, managerial skill and initiative such as those relied upon by countries like Britain for their complex programmes. More than half the difficulties of planning and executing development in developing countries lie in the fact that this is not the case.

For the information of our readers we would explain that in addition to research to be carried out by its staff, the Institute will direct its teaching principally to two categories of student. Mature people, mainly from Government service in the United Kingdom and other countries, who will attend short courses, or in some cases pursue individual courses of study, under the supervision of the institute staff; and post-graduate research students from Britain and overseas. Full information can be obtained from the Secretary, the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, Sussex.

Before closing these Editor's Notes it is hoped that a brief digression into our own domestic affairs will be forgiven.

When this Number is published, Rowland Hudson, Chairman of the Editorial Committee, the principal guiding hand and Chief Counsellor of

this Journal since its inception, will have retired. A colleague from the early days of the Journal writes:

"Quietly and modestly nobody has done so much for the causes of administration reform, fellow-feeling between Black and White in Africa, and the Cambridge Conferences as Rowland Hudson. Perhaps he learned his special humility and spirituality from his experience as one of those "Magnificent men in their flying machines" in the First World War; certainly he learned his administrative wisdom in the hard, lonely school of the Bush; and his devotion to the tasks of improving life at the grass roots as the first task of the administrator, has always enabled him to keep questions of larger structure and policy in a fine perspective. More than that, he has personally succeeded as diplomatic trouble-shooter in tough situations in many countries of Africa and served on numerous important commissions. In comradeship as in official business, Rowland on every occasion that I know of, has been on the side of the angels—so consistently that one suspects that he is Gabriel himself. But loss on his retiring is softened by the assurance that he will be with us still in the front line in all these causes with all his great heart."

Development Administration in East Africa

By GUY HUNTER

Mr. Hunter is a director of the Institute of Race Relations, London.

It is often said that the problems of administering development in Africa have more affinity with those encountered in the Soviet Union than with those in Britain or France or the U.S.A. They involve virtually creating a new kind of economy by Government action (as in Russia) rather than regulating an economy powered by private enterprise. Yet it may be noted that African governments do not have that total control of the whole economy, nor probably the will to use such control so ruthlessly, as the early Soviet governments; nor is the political system so totally fused with the administrative machine. In consequence, the burden of development administration falls almost wholly on a civil service which is both less powerful and more confused by the vagaries of political decision than their Russian counterpart. The lack of control is partly due to dependence on foreign capital, existing or prospective, which can be frightened away by harsh decisions; and partly to elements of democratic tradition which forbids a wholly ruthless policy of forced labour, wage control or production targets sanctioned by extreme punishments for failure.

Moreover, East African governments in particular have to deal with a 90 per cent. rural society, highly resistent to change, and without the reservoir of industrial and commercial skills and general education which, after all, existed in European Russia. While the Russians succeeded, at great cost, in establishing major industrial colonies at strategic points of their huge country, they largely failed, at even greater cost and untold suffering, in transforming the peasant economy, which is the task in Africa. While, therefore, there are some useful lessons from the Russian experience, particularly in the field of heavy industry, these are of limited application; the experience of India is in many ways more relevant. There, too, it is the rural economy and the rate of population growth which are still the overwhelming problem of development.

One must add the obvious fact that the senior administrators in Africa are themselves relatively inexperienced; but this is a factor which I do not want to emphasize, lest too much is attributed to it. In view of the difficulties of their task, many African civil servants have performed near-miracles; it is the difficulties rather than personal ability which deserve analysis.

The first, and possibly most important, difficulty is the overload on the administration. There is simply too much to do; and I believe this would be true even if the civil service, at its present strength in the top grades, were staffed by men of the greatest ability and long experience.

The reasons are various, and interesting. Obviously, there is a hurry; and in consequence, projects which should demand long and careful discussion and analysis, based on accurate statistics, aided by trials on a small scale, are thrown to the civil service for immediate implementation.

But hurry is not the full story. Much more difficulty arises from the size

and the type of project which is chosen and the administrative methods used to implement it. In brief, size, type and method are all those which a highly developed country, able to call upon a huge range of expertise, managerial skill and financial experience would (often with difficulty) be able to manage. As Hans Singer has wisely remarked:—

"Your Plan must be based on your present resources. It is a wrong approach to ask yourself first what you need.... If you do that, you inevitably arrive at a programme which is beyond your present resources."[1]

This remark applies even more to administrative than to financial resources —for most countries calculate, if optimistically, the money they can raise for the Plan. The trouble lies in the large number, scale and complexity of the institutions and projects which the small band of senior civil servants have to control, in addition to working the complex machinery of planning itself.

It may seem that this difficulty can be overcome by employing borrowed experts. It would be false to say that this makes matters worse; it simply brings out into the open the inherent difficulties. The professional economist or planner, brought in to advise or supervise, naturally, from his experience in sophisticated and manpower-rich economies, sees all the facts which must first be discovered and all the needs for coordination which are bound to arise. To get the facts, he either loads the African civil service with a stream of demands for information and statistics, or hires (from willing donors) more subordinate experts. But they in turn have to get the facts from somewhere, and usually from Africans. To achieve coordination, the expert will advise the establishment of committees; and they in turn will appoint sub-committees; all will produce minutes and memoranda. Because the lower levels of the African service are inexperienced, an immense and growing burden will fall on the Permanent Secretary and perhaps his Number Two to attend one Committee after another, to read endless documents and to prepare his share for others to read.

Moreover, apart from the visiting Missions and experts who are needed to advise and check on these projects (since financial aid may be involved), donor countries, the Economic Commission for Africa, and other U.N. Agencies, as well as Foundations, are constantly spotting gaps in the administrative apparatus. Should there not be an Educational Planning Unit? A Science Foundation? Aptitude Testing? Organisation and Methods Training?

All this superstructure is, of course, a true reflection of the amount of research, coordination and 'specialism' which developed societies both need and can afford (in manpower as well as money) in order to improve the *quality* of decision. In the big indistrial corporations of developed countries and in their Governments a critical test of administration is to achieve quality of decision (by the use of specialists and committees) with *speed* of decision. Speed, such as it is, is achieved by a high degree of delegation and a high quality of executive and junior administrative staff. This staff is especially weak at present in Africa, which makes delegation almost impossible.

Galbraith has an interesting comment on this issue. He points out that the development of the American mid-West was initiated by building a rail-

[1] Hans W. Singer, "*International Development: Growth & Change*", Macgraw Hill, New York, 1963.

way and giving out 160-acre farms along its course. He adds:—

> "It was our unquestioned good fortune that community education experts, grain marketing analysts, home economists, vocational counsellors, communications specialists, or public safety advisers had not then been invented. . . . Had these existed, they would have diverted attention from the strategically central tasks of getting the farmers settled and the railways built: and they would have been a burden on the back of people who could not afford such luxuries."[1]

In some ways, it was perhaps lucky that the huge emergency settlement scheme in Kenya was rushed through under the guidance of an energetic, rough-and-ready director, with the essential local and practical experience, who had no time, in any sense, to listen to the sociologists or work through committees. It was full of mistakes and imperfections; but it got done, and quickly. The mistakes will gradually be remedied by time and experience.

In a word, developed countries advise the creation of a system (to tell the truth, developing countries also demand it) which reflects their own sophistication and resources; their experts in public administration and sociology point out the disastrous mistakes which could result from neglecting specialist advice. Because most of these experts are provided on Aid terms at present, they are not seen as 'a burden on the back' of the developing country. But this is an illusion. The system is in fact breaking the back of African administrators; and one day, when the experts are replaced by Africans, the financial burden of an administration over-specialised and over-expensive for a poor country will also fall heavily onto small recurrent revenues.[2] It is important that the big industrial firm has to make profits, and this severely limits the amount of 'overheads' in the form of advisers and specialists it can carry. Governments, alas, are not so limited.

A smaller but important difficulty lies in the structure and establishment system of the central civil service. It was designed primarily as a system for control rather than for development. The structure, promotion and transfer system and the inflexibility of 'establishments' makes it extremely hard to create (and also later to disband) project teams to organise and drive ahead specific development plans, to use the dynamic people for dynamic jobs, to create special, short-lived appointments for special tasks. The pattern of having a Permanent Secretary and a Director (Agriculture, Education, etc.) could be exploited more, if the Directorate was organised on more dynamic project lines, with much freer establishment discretion, subject only to the overall control of the Permanent Secretary and the Treasury.

Criticism of bureaucracy, administration by files, and so on, is largely beside the point. Public business is public business and decisions, both political and financial, have to be recorded and answerability maintained. But while this must take place as one function of a Ministry, the development function, which has far more in common with the management of a major, innovating industrial firm, has to be managed differently. Its problems are

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[1] J. K. Galbraith, "Economic Development", Harvard, 1964.

[2] The arrangements for a Common Market and Common Services in the three independent countries of East Africa are an example of a highly complex administrative arrangement, very expensive in manpower and administrators' time. The new scheme, of the Philip Commission, when it is agreed and published, may well be even more complex in its provision for Committees and expert staff.

in the general area of leadership, team work, initiative, personnel management, etc., which are among the classic problems of the Harvard Business School.

Implementation of central policies is another area of difficulty. After a period, at Independence, when a great deal of opening had to be given to political self-expression in the provinces and districts (partly to erase the tradition of the colonial D.C.), the need for an effective, tough and flexible local administration as a tool of development policy became insistent. Kenya, in particular, after the Majimbo period of regional self-government, reverted to a strong Provincial Administration. Uganda, with the complication of the Kingdoms, has not yet re-established such an effective tool. Tanzania is certainly the most interesting compromise. For the upward movement of popular feeling and initiative, the system of Development Committees, strongly TANU[4] in leadership, provides ample and varied opportunity, so long as TANU remains genuinely democratic. For the downward flow of control and major planning, there has been an attempt to fuse the political and administrative functions of government by using, as Regional Commissioners, a mixture of outposted civil servants and politicians and combining political and administrative responsibilities in the job. Such a system depends greatly on personalities; my impression in Tanzania last winter was that, at least in some areas, it was working well, granted the inevitable untidiness and occasional aberrations which a mixture of politics and administration at local levels, with wide delegation of authority, must entail. In so far as the political system becomes stabilised and gains acceptance, the administrative element in the regions and areas will gain strength as a more orderly tool of local administration. In Uganda it is as yet uncertain whether the Kingdom governments, with their expensive ministerial system, will eventually supersede, or eventually yield to, the Kenya pattern of a centrally controlled administration. At the moment, the tide is flowing against the Kingdoms.

Emphasis on development rather than mere control puts a spotlight on the Regional or Provincial 'team'. Of its nature, development is interdisciplinary. A scheme of agricultural settlement will not only involve the Ministry of Agriculture—and possibly Natural Resources and Water, if this is separately organised. Schools (Education), Clinics (Health), Roads (PWD), Cooperatives, Community Development will certainly be involved. The team under the Regional Commissioner is a tool of proven efficiency for coordination. If it is granted adequate authority, there is a reasonable chance that real local circumstances and needs will be taken into account—a result which is highly unlikely if each regional representative is operating under detailed orders from a parent ministry. As a historical footnote, I might add that this was a lesson learned in regional administration in Britain in the last war. In the early stages, Ministry of Home Security circulars were sent straight to the responsible County and Borough Councils, with copies to the Regional Office. About 1941 this system was modified; policy instructions were sent, for some purposes, to the Regional Commissioner, and rewritten as regional circulars to the Local Authorities, taking into account the peculiarities of each region. This modification was a notable improvement, both in reducing tension between the central ministries and the Regional Commissioners and in better adaptation of policy to local needs and susceptibilities.

[4] Tanganyika African National Union.

No such satisfactory solution has yet been found at the centre. For example, responsibility for the Tanzania pilot settlement schemes was spread between the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Land Settlement and a special Agency under a Commissioner, with a large Ministerial Committee for coordination. The Commissioner found himself fatherless, and forced to poach extension staff from the Ministry of Agriculture, which in turn was naturally more deeply committed to schemes under its own control. Although this arrangement has now been changed, with the Ministry of Lands & Settlement in more direct command, the organisational problem remains. Again, responsibility for educative services in rural areas is widely dispersed at ministerial level, education being reponsible for schools and technical colleges, agriculture for extension and farmers' training, community development for literacy and adult education, national service for various youth training and similar activities, and commerce and cooperatives for an educational scheme of their own. In consequence, there is little coordination of educational policy in the broad sense, which would involve a single strategy for the use of scarce resources of money, buildings and staff.

There is no easy solution to this problem at the centre. The use of a Minister of State as coordinating chairman of inter-departmental committees is one possible manoeuvre, workable if the Minister carries real weight in the Cabinet as against colleagues with specific portfolios.[4] An alternative is the use of the Cabinet Planning Committee, as is largely done in Kenya. In either case the senior civil servant who acts as secretary to the Committee has a key role, and it may well be that he should be wholly freed of departmental duties. The use of panels from both within and outside the civil service, as tried in Uganda, may be effective in the *preparation* of the plan; but it still does not meet the requirement for coordinated implementation.

This brings me to the usual issue of training civil servants in their task of administration and coordination. It is done in East Africa at two main levels —training for entrants to the administrative grade, and for in-service officers at lower and middle grades, including executive officers both central and local; and training for senior officers. The middle-grade training is typified by the Kenya Institute of Administration; the senior by the East African Staff College. Although I was concerned with the Staff College, there is no doubt that the KIA work was more important in carrying out the humdrum task of simply training young men to do their job efficiently. This layer of support to the top civil servants is the major weakness at present. Until it is stronger, it is extremely difficult to give the senior man the time to spend even a few weeks on the kind of detached review of policy and methods which a Staff College can give; at present they do not even get essential leave. It is, I believe, essential to maintain a difference in training method between the levels. The middle level must be taught, thoroughly and if need be brutally. The senior level must be given a focus for exchange of experience, a stimulus to wider thinking, and a glance at comparative methods for men who already know the day to day problems by heart.

[5] The best example is probably the appointment of Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister in Malaysia, to run the rural reconstruction and development policy. Probably the worst solution was that adopted in the Philippines, of creating a special Plan Implementation Agency, with power to interfere in everyone's business and undefined answerability for the results.

It would be natural to include 'Politics' as an influence which bedevils development administration. In the sense of 'political discussions as to what is to be done', it is unrealistic to complain. 'Politics', however, in the sense of a constant atmosphere of crisis, intrigue or internal struggle for power, which is all too often the atmosphere in Africa, does indeed play havoc with administration. However, the great and increasing importance which is attached to 'The Plan' does have a moderating effect on political vagaries. I was impressed by the constant reference in East Africa (particularly in Tanzania) to the Plan targets as firmly accepted policy to which civil servants were safe to work and which could be used even against Ministers as a powerful restraint on political individualism. The willingness to take politically unpopular decisions in the interests of sound economic policy—for example, to limit the mushroom growth of education—is remarkable in Tanzania and Kanya; in Uganda the political struggle for unity is still unresolved, and this inevitably distracts both politicians and civil servants from their purely economic tasks.

In a wider sense, the problem of development in East Africa is one of mobilising effort more widely throughout the mass of people—or, as I should prefer to put it, of creating economic opportunity at a humble level. To some extent, the type and style of development planning, already mentioned, makes this more difficult. Complex and sophisticated projects not only overload administration but also give little room for initiative and participation by the ordinary African. "Self-help" schemes, most strongly developed in Tanzania, go a little way to correct this; but in most cases they represent a call on voluntary labour to create cheaply a local facility—a road or school —rather than an opportunity to increase productivity and earnings.

It must be confessed that African countries are handicapped here by the small stock of educated people and of commercial experience within the community as a whole—compared, for example, to India. The task of initiation falls too exclusively on government, and it is the last link of the chain of administration, at the point of contact with the mass of people, which is the weakest. Faced by a problem of developing a huge rural population by reasonably democratic methods—a problem the Russians never accepted—the government lacks the essential staff to do it.

Yet, paradoxically, a great deal of potential energy and initiative is being wasted. In Kenya alone 150,000 young people complete seven years education each year. Of these about 15,000 enter Secondary schools and perhaps another 30,000 find some job or opportunity for training. The rest are 'unemployed'—i.e. they drift slowly back into largely subsistence agriculture after a period of living with relatives in search of an urban job or even repeating the last year of Primary (by various manoeuvres) in the hopes of gaining a Secondary place.

There is an enormous waste here. Anyone who reads the life story of Africans who have risen from a thatched hut to a university degree, or moved hundreds of miles in search of employment or education will not be inclined to deny adaptability and initiative to these young people. The problem is to organise opportunity for them, and, since East Africa is 90 per cent. rural, opportunity for the bulk of them can only be within the rural economy—i.e. in farming or in the trade, services and crafts ancillary to farming.

Yet it is surprising to find, even where agriculture has nominally a high

priority in the Plan, how desperately small is the establishment for agricultural extension services—and even the establishment is riddled by unfilled vacancies—and how small is the provision, outside capital cities, for 'evening classes' or continued opportunity for simple training for the ordinary villager. In Tanzania there is one extension worker to about 1,700 farming families, as against 1:250 in Holland or Japan or indeed within the Sudan Gezira cotton scheme. Simple craft and commercial training is even thinner—the Trade School, Polytechnic and Secondary Technical training were all designed for the sophisticated modern sector and concentrated in a few towns.

Partly, this weakness in staff available to mobilise effort is a question of recurrent revenue to pay them. But this shortage is itself in part due to the continued expansion of immensely expensive higher education (about £7,000 capital and £1,000 per annum recurrent for each place in the University College of Dar-es-Salaam) and to investment in very expensive physical and social infrastructure rather than in productive, revenue-producing activities. Indeed, the "infrastructure" of East Africa is too often superstructure.

We are here sliding into discussion of the content and policy of development planning rather than the administration of plans. But this distinction, logical as it is, is only a distinction between symptoms of a single disease—a disease of treating East Africa as though it were *already* a developed country with an administration and reserves of education, managerial skill and initiative which developed countries can rely upon for their complex programmes. In fact I believe that the task of administering development in the future is essentially a task of expanding and training leadership, teachers and instructors at the humblest levels of the economy where lie the largely wasted reserves of human energy; it will be necessary to resist the siren voices tempting African governments to elaborate even further the top structure of administration and institutions, the weight of which is already almost strangling the few score of key individual administrators on whose work success depends. The top apparatus for administration is there already; the point now is to increase its effectiveness—the proportion of its effort which has a directly productive result.

The burden of this Paper is a plea for restraint, among donor countries, in suggesting or encouraging further refinements and additions to the top structure of administration, unless they can quite unmistakably be shown not to add to the load of the senior administrators and also to have some directly productive result. It is equally a plea to African governments to streamline administration by clear definition of responsibilities, greater delegation, fewer committees, willingness to accept mistakes in the interests of decisive implementation. Finally, it is a plea to cast development programmes into a simpler, rurally-orientated mould, to strengthen the lower levels of extension and educative staff, and to think in terms of creating opportunity, of a type and at a level which can give openings for a more genuinely productive life to that four-fifths of East Africa's human resources—and a large share of its natural resources—which is at present grossly underemployed.

The District Officer in India To-day

By HARIDWAR RAI

Dr. Haridwar Rai is Reader in Political Science at Patna University.

THE governmental functionary, at the head of district administration in India is usually a member of the Indian Administrative Service, either directly recruited, or promoted from the State Civil Service, or, in exceptional cases, a senior member of the latter, awaiting promotion to the former in a year or two. He is variously described as District Magistrate, Collector, or Deputy Commissioner.[1] He is generally called, rather inaccurately from the point of view of law, District Officer—an application which still sums up most appropriately the powers and functions of this officer and his place in the administrative apparatus of the district.

The district officer's official designations such as collector or district magistrate or deputy commissioner do not convey a complete picture of the varied nature of his duties. His magisterial and revenue functions constitute only a fraction of his work. Indeed, he is much more than what even the two-fold term 'collector-magistrate' connotes, for he is, above all, Government's agent and representative in the field, its general information man and also area coordinator of its countless activities. He is Government's handy-man embodying the undemarcated residuum of governmental authority. He is the convenient point of reference for the Government, the people and governmental agencies operating in the field.[2] In his office come into the focus the problem of the interactions between area and function and that of the relations between functional specialists and generalist administrators. In this role, he is generally responsible for the efficient administration of the entire district and the welfare of its people, and, therefore, any problem relating to the area under his charge is a subject of legitimate reference to him.

When any duty devolves on the district officer by statute, he is referred to as collector or district magistrate, as the case may be, but many of his duties have nothing to do with magisterial or revenue administration. Indeed, there are certain branches of the administration with reference to which the district officer is styled either collector or magistrate in a purely arbitrary manner. He is called magistrate in so far as he supervises jails, municipalities, emigration, medical relief, sanitation, vaccination, etc. Some of these duties

[1] In erstwhile non-regulation districts, the head of the district is still called deputy commissioner—the designation which in the past stood for a revenue and judicial administration different from that obtaining in other districts. The latter were called 'regulation' districts.

[2] As the residuary legatee of Government's undemarcated functions, he embodies 'the sum total of state authority, state activity and governmental responsibility'. He provides for the people in his area 'an immediate point of reference, a point easily accessible, not too specialised, and able to attend to as large a range as possible of problems. . . .' See S. S. Khera, *District Administration in India*, (New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1960), p. 2.

The observations of another old Indian civil servant on this point are worth quoting: The district officer represents "the meeting point of policy-making, supervisory and executive duties and represents the crucial focal point in administration where the policies and the people, the administration and the administered, react directly on each other". See K. S. V. Raman, "Democracy at the District Level", *Kurukshetra*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (2nd October, 1961), p. 22.

are not so much magisterial as fiscal or collectorate. 'In India' it has been aptly remarked '. . . when the Government wants a hard bit of work done, it calls on the district officer'.[3] The Government regards the district officer as a veritable beast of burden, and whatever new Act is passed, or new taxation is imposed or new activity of Government is undertaken, the burden of administration, the duty of assessment and collection and the task of implementation are thrown on this hard-worked, versatile, person. His is the duty, in the old Roman formula, to see that the state suffers no harm.[4] This has resulted, since the turn of the present century, in a big increase in his executive duties.[5]

The district officer is the 'universal supplier' of information to the Government as its local agent and representative. He is the channel of information with regard to any matter, important or unimportant, urgent or not so urgent, in which only a purely factual report and no expression of opinion is called for. If it is not important or urgent, he furnishes the needed information only to the Government, and is not required to bother the commissioner with such correspondence.[6] But in all other matters, whether important or unimportant, in which anything but a mere statement of facts is needed, the Government addresses the commissioner, and sends a copy direct to the district officer so that he may take immediate action. In this case, he submits his report through the commissioner. On important matters which require careful thought and deliberations, such as, draft bills or contemplated changes of policy, the correspondence is invariably conducted through the commissioner who, in most of the cases, bases his report on the facts contained in the reports of district officers of his division.

He is the chief statistician of the district and sends innumerable reports and returns to the Government about the state of crops and weather, the general economic and political situation in his area and the health of its citizens. He presents to the Government a continually changing picture of the district, and its underlying problems and currents of thought. It is not seldom that many of the measures, legislative or administrative, which the Government adopts stem directly or indirectly from his periodical or special reports. In short, he performs all those duties which he ought to do to make the Government a going concern in his area and to keep it continuously in touch with the general state of the district. He is 'the neck of the bottle' through which everything regarding the district has to pass.

Before the attainment of independence, the district officer was the agent of the imperial rule. He was dependent for ideas and ideals on himself and on

[3] L. S. S. O'Malley, *The Indian Civil Service*, 1601-1930, (London, J. Murray, 1931), p. 163.

[4] Edward Blunt, *The I.C.S.*, (London, Faber and Faber, 1937), p. 116.

[5] Government of Maharashtra, *Report of the Committee on Democratic Decentralisation*, (Bombay, Cooperation and Rural Development Department, 1961), p. 99.
In this connection, the remark of John Beames is very pertinent. The district officer was supposed to be very much "what Joseph was in the Egyptian prison, 'whatsoever was done therein, he was the doer thereof'. From vaccination to education, from warding off a famine to counting the blankets of convicts . . .; from taking a census to feeding an army on march, all fall on him." See John Beames, *Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian*, ed., Philip Mason, (London, Chatto & Windus, 1961), p. 159. This remark applies to the district officers of the last decades of the 19th century.

[6] The commissioner is a senior member of the Indian Administrative Service or the Indian Civil Service. He is head of a division which consists of three or four districts. He is the district officer's administrative superior.

men of his own service. Now his role is entirely that of a career civil servant drawing inspiration and guidance from the policy laid down by the representatives of the people. Whereas in the past, he looked upon the legislature and legislative criticism as a hindrance to efficient and impartial administration, now he lives with them and is taught to regard them as the hall-mark of democratic government and a well-spring of all excutive action. Local legislators can no longer be regarded as superfluous nuisances by the district officer. They are an additional and very important source of information to the Government which perpetually seeks to attune its actions to the aspirations of the people. They are also on the spot, armed with electoral behests, and quick to supplement the gaps of local knowledge. Besides, they have the support of the ruling party, and even if they are not in the ruling party, they have to be reckoned with as rivals and even superiors. What is more, they are more often the first to carry the information to the proper quarters, and for very obvious reasons they have often more credit with the Government. This development has certainly led to a decline in the importance of the district officer as the general information man and as the agent of the Government in the district.[7]

Another important development which tends to affect this role of the district officer is the growth of local bodies, particularly *panchayati Raj* institutions, in the district. The chairman of the *zila parishad* seems destined to share the glamour and authority of the district officer and the time is not distant when he will be the non-official head and the first citizen of the district claiming to speak on behalf of the people of his area. Already the question is being asked: does the Government need a separate agent to supply it with information on the shortcomings of agencies operating in the field or of democratically elected bodies? "The former function", it is argued, "is the responsibility of the individual technical departments and the latter the responsibility of the supervisor of *panchayati raj*".[8] But a counter-question may be posed: why must the Government have a separate supervisor of these institutions when it has already had in the district officer a tried and tested supervisor of long standing? Will it not militate against our age old system of area administration which is based on the graded division of territory with an agent of the government placed in charge of its general well-being?

Local legislators and members of the *panchayati raj* institutions are no doubt serious enough partners and even rivals of the district officer. The district officer is in some ways at a disadvantage, and yet he is not. In many ways, the local representatives' advantages are precisely their disadvantages also. It is difficult for them to be objective, to rid themselves of vested interests, to cease to be myopic or to cut themselves loose from their alignments. It is necessary, therefore, that there is another man on the spot who can supply objective and unbiased information on the state of the district, can rise above the din and bustle of group and party politics, can provide a reference point, can look at things from the district and even government point of view and can be held accountable for the proper and efficient administration of the district. It is pointed out that by training, service conditions,

[7] For detailed information on the subject, see Haridwar Rai, *The District Officer in Bihar*, (an unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the Patna University, 1965), Chapters 5 and 6.

[8] Henry Maddick, "The Present and Future Role of the Collector in India", p. 84. See also Haridwar Rai, *op. cit.*, Chapters 6 and 8.

seniority and the traditions of the service to which he belongs, the district officer is most suited to discharge this trust. It is at the level of the district officer, it is argued, that governmental authority can be focused and 'in times of crisis or calamity all the resources of government can be brought to bear to meet the situation'.[9]

As Government's man-on-the-spot, the district officer is responsible for ensuring and promoting integrity in the entire administrative apparatus at the district level. It is his duty to be easily accessible to those who may have a legitimate complaint to make against government servants working in the district. Both the Government and the people have come to repose faith in the incorruptible character of this institution and it has, accordingly, become, over the years, the recognised tribunal for hearing such complaints. In view of the proliferation of governmental agencies, and the mounting volume of complaints, many of them malicious and politically motivated, against public servants, the State Government of Bihar has specifically instructed the district officer to adopt the following procedure in dealing with such complaints:—

> "(i) where the complaint specifies some gross irregularity or reveals corruption, enquiry should be made quickly and thoroughly and the officer punished if found guilty.
>
> (ii) If on the other hand, the complaint is found to be false or malicious, no concession should be made for the status of the complainant who should be proceeded against according to law. Government's order should be obtained before obtaining prosecution in such cases.
>
> (iii) In order that the guilty officers are punished and false complaints are discouraged, it is essential that the enquiry should be conducted in a quick, thorough and impartial manner. Government feel that this alone would be able to inspire confidence and achieve the end in view".[10]

Even in such minor matters as the hiring and requisitioning of buildings in some parts of the district for housing government institutions, offices, etc., the district officer is consulted by departments of government and heads of departments. "If negotiations with owners of houses are necessary", says a government circular "the local officers are generally in a better position to negotiate to Government's advantage than an officer of the secretariat or an attached office. The district officer is also in a better position to know whether certain residences suitable for a particular purpose are available, and to advise about the fair rent of a building".[11] Besides, if Government proposes to locate any institution in the district, the district officer is generally taken into confidence because sooner or later he will be required to give advice on and assistance in matters connected with that institution.

The district officer is the Government's public relations man in the district. He stands between the Government and its field agencies on the one hand, and local governmental officials and the people on the other. In his fort-

[9] S. S. Khera, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[10] Government of Bihar, Appointment Department, *Order No. II/C3-40105/59-A7189*, dated the 20th of May, 1959.

[11] See Government of Bihar, (Cabinet Secretariat), *Compendium of Circulars and Orders of Appointment Department*, (Patna, Superintendent, Secretariat Press, 1961), p. 127.

nightly reports, his special reports, his talks to secretaries to Government or to ministers, he may convey the needs of the district, and may, in turn, convey to the people the purpose of specific governmental projects or measures in the language intelligible to them. He is generally requested to inaugurate a fair, an exhibition, a tournament or to open some function in the district. He is approached to distribute prizes and bestow awards on the conclusion of certain functions. He is the chairman of the managing committee of the *zila* school, and is also invariably the chairman of managing committees of one or two colleges situated in the district. He is also the chairman of the District Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare Board, the District Red Cross, and many other official and non-official bodies. All this helps to build up his image among the people of the district. Besides, he holds periodical press conferences where he may throw light on such problems as the crime situation, food scarcity, flood havoc, *goonda* menace (an extreme type of 'mods' & 'rockers') in the district, and outline schemes to tackle them. The news conferences bring to the notice of the press and the people his ability or otherwise to understand the affairs of the district and also to present the case to the public on behalf of the Government. If he has pleasant social manners—and he is usually expected to have them to a degree, in order to be a good public relations man—he will be much in demand by the public, and may well be identified with all good causes in the district.

In the past, the district officer performed important policy functions. Both in matters of legislation and certainly in most matters of administrative policy, his opinion was always sought. There were two implications of this. Whether the new changes in law or policy would be acceptable to the people and how they would react to it? This is now becoming more and more the function of the legislators who represent the different areas of the district. The second point concerns the administrative aspect. Was the new law enforceable? What changes were necessary in the administrative machinery for the enforcement of the new law or policy and what re-distribution of administrative functions and powers was necessary for bringing about the changes? These were the matter in which the district officer's opinion was held to be important.

This role of the district officer is being gradually relegated to the background and even falling into desuetude. But, he is still responsible for the implementation of policies and programmes laid down by different departments of Government and continues to be the receptacle for all 'bright thoughts', practicable or otherwise, that occur all along the line in the enormous secretariats of the centre and states. The plethora of legislation, conceived in a hurry, drafted in haste, and enacted without much regard to enforceability, has resulted in the expansion of the administrative machinery at the district level, so that the management of a large and complicated apparatus like the district administration has become a specialised branch of human activity. Therefore, the views of the district officer in regard to the changes needed in the district administration to meet the challenge of a new law or policy will, it seems, continue to command the most thoughtful consideration of the Government.

The attainment of independence put to an end the dual role of the Indian bureaucracy—the role of governing and that of administering. There persisted however, for some time a tension between prestige and service, and

between the inherited traditions of the services and the new parliamentary institutions. It was indeed difficult to tear asunder the foundations of bureaucratic administration upon which the superstructure of democracy was imposed. Though the political aspect of maladjustment went, its psychological aspect remained substantially unchanged. The old civil service system was never a part of the cultural and social life of the Indian people. It also differed basically from its British counterpart. "In many ways", remarks an Indian Civilian, "it resembled one of the Isles of Laputa in Gulliver's travels which contained many admirable things but which remained suspended from above the ordinary world".[12] The entire system lacked dynamism and, in its last days, it was caught up in a mental *cul-de-sac*, having lost self-confidence and sense of direction.

Members of the Indian Civil Service working either in the rough and tumble of district administration or in the cosy chambers of secretariats were neatly fitted into India's age-long caste system and had themselves become members of a super-caste. It was a close-knit ruling corporation for the administration of a colonial possession, and even those Indians, who were admitted to its fold felt quite at home with its spirit, if not with its racial exclusiveness. More than common education, it was "Anglicization which divorced the I.C.S. Indian officers from their own people and pushed them into a self-contained social group not quite on a par with their British colleagues yet not at home with their Indian compatriots".[13] The system was too much feudalistic and had too much academic and intellectual orientation to be action-minded and to have human relations orientation.[14] Its prepondering traits were empirical generalism and excessive bureaucratisation. Consequently, the relationship between the administrative *élite* and the 'underlying' rural population was essentially authoritarian. The district officer was an integral part of the system and his administrative experience acquired in the district was a major factor in moulding administrative attitudes of the Indian Civil Service.

By the time independence was achieved, almost all the British members of the Indian Civil Service had either retired or gone on leave. The Indian members who were left to head districts had become, by and large, acclimatised to the new political status of the Indian people, though it must have been very hard for them to regard themselves as servants of the people and to be so called by others. Old habits die hard. But the replacement of the Indian Civil Service by a new all-India administrative service, namely, the Indian Administrative Service, marked the 'grand divide' between the old and the new, though the old authoritarian traditions of the service were not completely scrapped. The members of the new service, either directly recruited or promoted from the rank of deputy collector, have yet to build up

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[12] C. S. Venkatachar, "The Indian Administration: Myths of The Legacy", *The Eastern Economist*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 15, p. 691.
For a critical discussion of this aspect of the Indian Civil Service system, see also K. M. Panikkar, *Civil Services, History And Problems*, (Madras, University of Madras, 1955), Chap. II.

[13] Ralph Braibanti, "Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India", *Administration and Economic Development in India*, eds., Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spengler, (Durham, Duke University Press, 1963), p. 32.

[14] Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India: Report Of A Survey*, (New Delhi, Cabinet Secretariat, O. & M. Division, Government of India, 1953), p. 11.

a tradition of their own in keeping with the civil service of a democratic government. The administrative system is still archaic, though the impact of democratisation is gradually transforming it into one intended to be appropriate for a modern democratic state. The district officer is no longer the *pukka sahib*, 'white-helmeted and on horseback', endowed with 'a charisma emanating in part from his foreign origin'. He is 'a harried executive' attempting to coordinate and direct revenue collection, economic development, police and magisterial functions and stimulate public cooperation and encourage local democratic institutions. The relative autonomy and personal rule of the district officer is definitely a thing of the past.

Soon after independence, the constitution of the Indian Republic declared its intention to build India into a welfare state. This had far-reaching administrative implications, particularly at the functional levels, such as district, subdivision and circle. Whereas in the past, the tasks of the district officer were very largely of a regulatory character, requiring him to maintain law and order, collect government dues and exercise controls over the people, with only a sprinkling of functions having a bearing upon rural uplift, the new responsibilities of the state for the welfare of the people, demanded of him an outlook and attitude liberated from old bureaucratic prejudices. In the context of the new social welfare functions, he needs to have a much greater understanding of the economic, political, social and psychological background of the people of his district. There is need for his integration, to the fullest possible extent, with the people. It is his great responsibility as the head of the district administration to make the village people feel that the Government is 'we' and not 'they', and that he is there to serve them and not to lord it over them.

This most important change in the attitude and role of the district officer is sought to be brought about by the community development and national extension programmes. The district officer is assigned the role of the chief extension officer in the district. He presides over the district development committee, consisting mostly of non-officials, and also over many other non-official bodies concerned with mobilising popular initiative for the implementation of these programmes. There is a radical difference between community development and the more orthodox administrative approach. It has been observed that "community development works *with* people rather than *for* people, and seeks to stimulate their initiative and active participation in the programme. . . . In other words, it is a partnership between the initiative of the community and services provided by the Government".[15] In the Indian context, the extension movement is intended to transform the general administrative machinery into a social welfare machinery. It is the duty of an extension officer to develop leadership and initiative in the people, keeping himself in the background as an essentially advisory agency. "This role of government servants of an agency to work with and help the people in a programme of community development introduces a new concept into the public administration of countries which have had so far an administration largely executive in responsibilities and authoritarian in approach".[16] The

[15] Peter du Sautoy, "Some Administrative Aspects of Community Development", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1962, p. 39.

[16] B. Mukherji, *Community Development in India*, (Calcutta, Orient Longmans, 1961), p. 116.

district officer, as the leader and captain of the team of extension officers in the district, has to set an example of this new role before them and to infuse a new temper into their minds. He has to be the great agent of change, the sponsor rather than the director of the extension movement in the district.

The duties of the district officer in relation to local bodies, particularly *panchayati raj* institutions, form a subject of great debate in the country. Though the controversy whether the district officer should be inside or outside the *panchayati raj* system yet persists, it is hoped that the varying patterns of guidance and control exercised over these bodies in different states will clinch the issue in a couple of years. As a matter of fact, if individual governments are prepared to learn from the successes and mistakes of systems which differ from their own, considerable vitality and strength may come out of this variation in control mechanism. But in Bihar the district officer, under the Panchayati Raj Act, will continue to play his role of guide and adviser and, at times, even of censor and auditor in respect of *panchayati raj* institutions, in a great measure.[17] This will bring him, when the Act is put into effect, into frequent contact with the members of these bodies. He must needs have the experience of local government and local social and political problems. "The real future of the Indian Administrative Service," says Henry Maddick, "lies with and in the new local government system, as its executive officers and as its supervisors".[18]

Now, the district officer will have to learn how he can influence the deliberations of these bodies and lend a touch of realism to their decisions without actually appearing to do so. His has to be the role of a friend rather than that of an instructor. "His position should be seen as that of the family doctor who is a welcome visitor, rather than that of the probation officer or the police inspector. . . . He could mediate when tensions arise between the non-officials and officials, even prevent this happening. But none of this can be achieved if his visits are infrequent and are looked on as being those of fault-finder rather than friendly adviser".[19] His role is now entirely reversed, and his training and orientation will have to be such as to enable him to discharge the new role efficiently and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

In other ways too, the district officer is fast ceasing to be an Anglo-oriented bureaucrat and is being irresistibly drawn into the maelstrom of the social and political life of his district. Not only are his actions under the constant watch of local politicians, but he moves with them and acts at times in collaboration with them. He may often have to reconcile the widely differing views of two or more warring political groups without seriously antagonising any one of them. He must be proficient in the art of human relations. To be deeply aware of all shades of opinion, of the personal equations of local politicians, their prestige and influence at the state headquarters, and yet to be above local political groups and alignments, and to view the whole thing as an outsider with detachment, is the rare but indispensable quality demanded of the district officer to-day.

The district officer has shown, by and large, devotion to public duty and aloofness from political combinations. This appears to be truer of the

[17] See Haridwar Rai, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6.

[18] Henry Maddick, "The Present and Future Role of the Collector in India", *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

directly recruited members of the Indian Administrative Service, who because of the all-India orientation of the service, its special service conditions, assured prospects of promotion, etc., are reasonably expected to act in most cases in the light of their own wisdom. Some of the district officers, promoted from the rank of deputy collector, may seem to be too much part of the changing political scene in the state to remain emotionally and even otherwise uncommitted. Besides, their gestures of help and favours may most likely be rewarded in the form of 'extensions', 'special' jobs, or favoured secretarial appointments, which, in the case of a directly recruited young district officer, may come off automatically and without asking. But it is also generally complained that a large number of directly recruited district officers behave rather snobbishly, avoid mixing with their subordinates, and display overbearing manners. This is usually attributed to their very early rise to this office—within five to six years they become district officers—which is too short a period to mellow their youth and make them thorough-going administrators with sufficient experience of men and matters.[20]

It is sometimes alleged that the district officer of today is not as much in touch with the general public in his district as was his British predecessor. The old-fashioned British district officer spent anything up to half the year in camp from September to May. "It is easy to ridicule", remarks Tinker, "the almost Moghul style in which he moved: the elaborate camp; the ceremonial entry into a village on horseback, surrounded by a posse of notables. ... But in 1850 or 1900 this was what the villager wanted. He was able to receive the *hakim* on his own native ground, he could speak to the great man face to face; he was able to make proposals or register grievances and expect an answer".[21] This description applies to the district officer of the pre-reforms era when his office-work was not as heavy as it is today and he had sufficient time to move about on horseback. Distracting calls on his time and energy were much less, political consciousness was just beginning to appear, and education of the masses was non-existent. Besides, governmental activities in the country-side were limited to the minimum possible, namely, maintenance of law and order, administration of justice, and construction and maintenance of public works. And, above all, there were few hindrances to the exercise of his powers which were authoritarian in tone and content.[22]

The present day district officer lives and works in an altogether different world. It is a world of democracy with all that it implies, that is, politics, politicians, people, pressure groups and newspapers. In the new order, the

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[20] An experienced Indian Civilian refers to 'the bossy attitude' of the district officer towards the district heads of technical departments and the difference in age and experience between him and the older and more experienced district heads of technical departments as important factors responsible for the increasing reluctance on the part of the latter to accept 'the dominant role assigned to the collector in district administration'. See A. L. Fletcher, "the Collector in the Nineteen Sixties", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, vol. XI, No. 3, July–September, 1965, p. 372.

[21] Hugh Tinker, "Authority and Community in Village India", *EROPA Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 24-25.

See also Norman D. Palmer, *The Indian Political System*, (London, Allen & Unwin, 1962), p. 147.

[22] For a detailed study of the changing functions of the district officer, see Haridwar Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-236. See also his "The Changing Role of the District Officer", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, IX: 2, 1963, pp. 238-246.

supremacy of administration is replaced largely by the sovereignty of politics. The emerging ethos has presented him with a series of problems. He cannot maintain his image of power, nor can he continue for long as a member of a highly prestigious class enjoying exceptional privileges. In the new setting, there is a preponderance of memoranda, reports and returns. He grants interminable interviews to all sorts of people, attends a series of conferences, receives ministers and attends to V.I.P.s. He cannot complete even one-tenth of his assigned duties if he rides leisurely in the regal style on horseback, and undertakes long and frequent tours. Nevertheless, with an infra-structure of field staff at his disposal, he can keep himself in touch with the affairs of the district, and when a situation becomes so serious as to demand his personal attention, he may go to the spot and take cognizance of the matter himself. He cannot, in all sincerity and good faith, pay his personal attention to anything but what is of 'some importance' to the people and administration. He must delegate a good deal of his duties to his subordinates, and confine himself to keeping vigilance over the operation of the delegated piece of work. This calls for skill and imagination far beyond that which the district officer in the past was required to bring to his work.

But despite heavy loads of office work, the district officer is required to spend a minimum number of sixty nights and a still longer number of days on tour. One gathers an impression that an active, extension-oriented district officer is himself anxious to go on tour quite frequently, for he knows that this is the only way to get first-hand knowledge of the needs of the people and the working of various departments in his area. These tours 'serve as a tonic to the district officer by substituting favourable impressions for the unfavourable views he derives at headquarters', and act as a check upon the garrulity of politicians who are apt to overdraw a situation. A good district officer, besides, honestly feels that he can best discharge his new role of an extension officer or a supervisor of local bodies only by being in close touch with the people—'getting into the skin of the people', as they call it.[23]

There is also another tribe of district officers, fast vanishing, though. They are the standard bearers of the old '*sahib* school' clinging to an older tradition of aloofness and suffering from a superiority complex. They still believe in what may be called the 'progress-at-any-price' principle, are imbued with a passion for administrative detail, and are drivers rather than initiators of ideas. To them, local democratic institutions, voluntary associations and non-official *ad hoc* bodies are ostentatious trappings to be dispensed with, for they militate against efficiency, despatch and symmetry in administration. Such district officers revel in dictating memoranda and reports and issuing directives and orders to their subordinates. This school differs from the '*shikar* school', now non-existent, which believed that 'the sloughing off of work on subordinates provided greater leisure for unending sport in which lay the answer to complex administrative problems'. District officers of the latter school took 'pride in never having read a book and in being men of action unspoiled by the obfuscating influence of bookish learning'.[24] This school is dead and gone; the '*sahib* school' is being fast consigned to limbo under the impact of democratisation of district admini-

[23] *Ibid.*, Chapter 7.

[24] Ralph Braibanti, "Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India", *op. cit.*, p. 29.

stration; and the 'new school' is in the melting pot. Its values and work-ways are yet to crystallise.[25]

The office of the district officer has not merely been an instrument for the exercise of centralised authority but also a means to bring about some sort of deconcentration in the exercise of such authority. It has, nevertheless, always provided an opportunity for initiative, responsibility and leadership in coordination. This role of the district officer has not become superfluous even in the present changed political context, though the importance of the post for the Indian Administrative Service is definitely on the decline, and, of late, the utility of the generalist nature of the service is also being questioned.[26]

An important administrative development that has occurred over the last ten years is the diminishing importance of district experience in the Indian Administrative Service. The office of the district officer was the mainstay of the Indian Civil Service and long district experience was regarded as the indispensable condition for the growth of qualities of leadership, initiative, imagination and organisation. Even to-day, district work is claimed to be an 'expertise', and is said to form 'the parent' line for the members of the Indian Administrative Service. It is argued that "this particular expertise of administering a district, with all its problems of dealing with the live, day-to-day problems of the people of a district whether in the stresses and strains of an emergency or in the dynamism of execution of social and economic planning, can be acquired only from actual doing from the early and young days of a generalist, for whom this task of dealing with a diversity of problems in the realistic and fast moving scene of a district becomes a matter of life-time's principal career".[27] The experience of administering a district, it is said, endows these men of the Indian Administrative Service with 'charismatic' qualities and makes them uniquely suited for high level administration.

This argument, however, is not consistent with the facts of the administrative situation to-day, though it was true of the Indian Civil Service. Up to 1934, out of 391 superior posts in the Indian Civil Service spread over different provinces, 255 or 65 per cent were posts of district officers. But in 1960, despite the extended scope of the Indian Administrative Service since its creation in 1950, out of a total of 942 superior posts, only 405, or 41·2 per cent were posts of district officers.[28] The cadre is fast expanding, though the number of districts has remained almost static. From the point of view of number, therefore, the posts of district officers have ceased to occupy the pre-

[25] For a discussion on this aspect of the question, see N. C. Roy, *The Civil Service in India*, (Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhay, 1958), p. 242. See also L. M. Snowiss, "The Education and Role of the Superior Civil Service In India", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1961, pp. 24-25; and S. C. Dube, "Bureaucracy and nation building in transitional societies", *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. XVI, No. 1964, pp. 229-236.

[26] A rapid increase in the number of technical departments at the district level with the inauguration of community development programmes has given impetus to a controversy between the generalist and the expert. The controversy is particularly acute at the Block level.

[27] S. Banerji, "A Unified Civil Service?", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1963, p. 198.

[28] T. C. A. Srinivasavardan, "Some Aspects of the Indian Administrative Service", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 30.

dominant position they once did. Added to this is the narrowing duration of district experience; it comes, on an average, to two years in Bihar. This shows that 'the Indian Administrative Service is no longer primarily intended to man district posts'[29] and that district experience is no longer regarded as an essential qualification for rising to higher posts in the secretariat.

Nevertheless, the district administration is 'truly the cutting edge of the tool of public administration'[30] and the district officer is still the principal agent and general information man of government in the field. He is the main 'official contact, on the spot and from day-to-day, between the Government and the people, whatever the branch of administration that may be involved in the live issue of the day.'[31] The image which the people form of their Government is still, in a large measure, projected by the district officer.

As the chief executive officer of Government in the district, the district officer exercises a large number of undefined, miscellaneous executive functions. The executive function has been defined as "that compendium of the management of public affairs in accordance with the constitution, in accordance with the laws, in accordance with the policies of Government, that residuary compendium of public affairs not specifically provided for by particular provision of law".[32] The district officer, in the ultimate analysis, is the one single entity in the district acting on behalf of Government, if any situation so demands. In this capacity, all sorts of miscellaneous functions, layer after layer, have been added to his original ones, making his office a veritable portmanteau. No wonder, the burden of internal security of the portion of the country called district falls on the district officer during war and similar national emergencies. He is responsible for the formulation and implementation of civil defence plans and does all that is necessary to bring the situation under effective control. He summons the whole authority and prestige of Government to his task and acts as the symbol of state power. Even in times of local emergencies such as strikes by transport or power personnel, he adopts all measures in consultation with concerned authorities to ensure that such services are not disrupted to the inconvenience of the general public.

His miscellaneous executive duties are many and varied. He performs all those functions that he did in the past, besides quite a few additional ones that have devolved on him after independence. Worthy of special mention is his role in the rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees and management of evacuee properties in the wake of partition and subsequent communal disturbances. This task entailed the opening of special camps, distribution of doles and free rations and grant of special loans to refugees.

With the introduction of rationing and control of food grains during the Second World War, the responsibility of the district officer immensely in-

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] S. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 199. See also Richard W. Gable, "District Administration: Its Development and Challenges", *District Administration In West Pakistan*, ed., Inayatullah, (Peshawar, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1964), pp. 1-2.

[31] S. S. Khera, *District Administration in India*, (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1964), p. 255.

[32] See S. S. Khera, *District Administration In India*, (Asia Publishing House, 1964), p. 26. "In the last resort says he "a good district officer, for that matter a good officer anywhere but particularly a good district officer, will not hesitate to take complete charge of a situation on behalf of the government, indeed as if he were the government, exercising the full executive authority under the sanction of the constitution".

creased. In the beginning, the rationing and supply officer formed a separate charge under an officer of the rank of additional collector with a separate staff. In 1952, this office was brought under the direct control of the district officer. The district officer deals with problems arising out of supply and distribution of essential commodities, rise and fall of prices, and the licensing of articles which are scarce and in short supply. He has to be particularly vigilant in checking fluctuation in prices and has to take effective measures to hold the price-line in pursuance of government directives. He keeps the Government informed of the trend of prices by sending periodical reports, supplies grains to fair price shops and ensures that hoarding and profiteering are checked.

Another important addition to his executive duties is the welfare and uplift of *harijans*. A special office has been created in the collectorate under a deputy collector to administer the *harijan* welfare schemes, subject to the control of the district officer. Further, he has to discharge special functions in relation to linguistic or communal minorities and has to ensure that no discrimination is practised against them. In addition, the district officer deals with political sufferers' grants, a variety of relief grants, issues of caste, property and residence certificates, passport applications, assembly and council questions, disbursement of ministers' discretionary grants and similar other jobs. He is also responsible for such work as the national small savings, national defence fund and Gandhi and Nehru memorial funds and has to ensure that enthusiasm and response of the people are aroused for their success.

But above all, his work and responsibility in connection with the conduct and management of elections have acquired new dimensions. Now there is a separate election department in the collectorate. The department is engaged in the preparation, printing and revision and field checking of electoral rolls, and also in making arrangements for the holding of general elections and bye-elections. The district officer is the returning officer of the district and is responsible for the peaceful and impartial conduct of the elections. He is also responsible for holding elections for *gram panchayats* and other local bodies. All these elections are periods of great anxiety and mental tension for the district officer and invariably present difficult problems of law and order. Also, the decennial census is the important concern of the district officer and demands his close supervision over all items of work.

It is hard to imagine an official with a more comprehensive and varied set of duties than the district officer. The myth of his office is now a part of the Indian administrative tradition which differs from the British in that in Britain there is no government functionary explicitly charged with the responsibility of administering a tract of the country committed to his care. Nor has any British official anything like the district officer's range of duties. Upon him have fallen all sorts of ill-assorted jobs, ranging from the conducting of censuses, the holding of elections, the storing of adequate food supplies, the licensing of goods in short supply, the implementing and promoting of development programmes, to the traditional functions of maintaining law and order, collecting government revenues and supervising local bodies in the district. Of late, his public relations work has increased in importance and volume, particularly because the administrative process is no longer paternalistic. It is being gradually integrated with the broad stream of

democratic process and is being subjected to the stresses and strains of a democratic polity. The tradition of personal rule goes ill with democratic administration. No longer is it possible for the district officer to administer benevolently over a feudal and highly rigid agricultural society. Both his role in the administrative process and the character of society he has to deal with are fast changing.

The institution of the district officer has been the barometer of state activities. It has always faithfully recorded changes in the nature and extent of the functions and duties of Government in India, because, in the end, the reponsibility for implementing them has been cast upon the district officer. In short, his work has been a continuous expression of the growth in the range and complexity of the functions of the Government, and no other official reflects the nature and purposes of the Government more truly than does the district officer. He represents the unity of administration and embodies the ethos and traditions of our administrative system.

CONCLUSION

The district officer is the 'general factotum' of the Government in the district. An important factor which has enabled him to hold this key position in the district and in our administrative system is the belief that both owing to the manner in which he is selected and his training and orientation, he is best suited to discharge the duty of the field agent of the Government. Obviously, both the Government and the people can count on his disinterested and independent advice and objective assessment of things. Though the emergence of local politicians has dealt a serious blow to his status as the field agent of the Government, the need for a careerist, politically neutral civil servant acting as the general information man of the Government and responsible to it for its general administration is still strongly felt. There appears to be still an almost passionate faith in the infallibility of the generalist civil servant and the superiority of the pyramidal structure of administration.

The district officer is no longer the *pukka*, Anglo-oriented bureaucrat of the past, endowed with the authority, charisma and splendour of an imperial agent. He is a civil servant of a democratic Government and functions under all those limitations which the democratic process imposes on civil servants. He works with and in the midst of politicians and under the fierce, and, at times, hostile gaze of the press. He is a careerist civil servant and yet the traditions of his office do not accord with the principle of anonymity which characterises bureaucracy in a democratic state. His executive actions are subjects of discussion in the legislature, in the local offices of political parties and in public meetings. He is, accordingly, expected to have a keen awareness of the social problems and political urges of the people, keep his ears close to the ground and address his every activity to the welfare of the public. The old dichotomy between service and prestige has no legs to stand upon. He is required to argue and persuade and not only to issue orders which are to be obeyed.

Nevertheless, the district officer bids fair to remain the key figure in the district for more than a decade or so to come because he will have important duties to discharge in respect of local bodies in the district and the people still look up to him for the redress of grievances and for getting things done.

His recommendations and reports on any question concerning the district carry great weight with the Government and his assessment of the district scene in any situation is generally accepted. Far from being written off, the district officer cannot be ignored in the promotion of development activities. It must also be conceded that he has played an important part in the process of economic and social growth and has been willing to go part of the way, at least, to adjust to the new situation. He has functioned both as a model and as an instrument of modernisation, though always retaining a hard core of bureaucratic resistance within the structure of his office.

The Evolution of Local Government in Northern Nigeria

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EFFECTIVE and efficient local government is almost universally seen as part of the foundation of social, economic and political modernization demanded by the developing countries of the world. As Henry Maddick points out[1]: "The arguments for devolution are wide in their content", ranging from the somewhat intangible contribution to political development made by local representative institutions, to the practical and material advantages of local investment in economic enterprises and social welfare projects. Since the contribution made by local government to political development is extremely difficult to measure, this article examines, in the context of Northern Nigeria's evolution from indirect rule to local government, the function of devolution in socio-economic development. Local government is thus considered as potentially playing an important role in achieving the developing world's prime objectives, i.e., securing the maximum returns from material and human resources, and raising the standard of living.

The importance of local government activities to these objectives can be clearly identified. First, there are those local capital investment projects which bring quick rewards to the local community. Greater publicity is always given to the large-scale industrial plants or the hydro-electric schemes included in many national plans. To the ordinary man, particularly in the rural areas, such projects are remote and it may be that his life is unlikely to be affected by the development, so long will it take for it to bear fruit. It will be extremely difficult for the majority of people in Nigeria, for example, to see how the Niger Dam improves their lives, at least for the next couple of decades. A local road or modernized market, on the other hand, may bring quick returns. Local projects are also likely to be labour intensive, thus relieving local unemployment. They may encourage development of natural resources (e.g., by the building of new roads). In the long run such investment contributes substantially to the growth of national income.[2]

Second, by developing the social services of a country, particularly education and health, local government combines two important functions. It contributes to governmental activities which are increasingly demanded on social or humanitarian grounds, i.e., raising the standard of living and encouraging individual development by eradicating illiteracy, disease and squalor through education, public health programmes and the extension of medical services to all sections of the population. Such activities, by improving the lives of individuals and communities also contribute to national development. Better health increases the output of labour. Greater literacy and general education adds in the long run to the nation's stock of technical

[1] *Democracy, Decentralisation and Development*, Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 54.

[2] cf. U. K. Hicks, *Development from Below*, Oxford 1961, Ch. 17.

and professional skills, all of which are in increasing demand as society becomes more complex.

Third, local authorities may initiate economic enterprises such as light industries or commercial undertakings. These may be provided to create local employment opportunities and to complement major industrial development. Some public utilities and commercial undertakings may be considered as both economic enterprise and part of the infra-structure of development with which local government in most developing countries is closely concerned.

Finally, local government may play a role complementing that of the central government or the community development movement. It may provide a staff and organisation for the administration of some sectors of a national development programme, for example local roads or primary education; or take over the responsibility for maintaining such projects initiated by the central government. It is through consultation with local authorities that central governments modify the formulation and execution of national plans to suit local needs and conditions. Local government is an important source of the data required in the drawing up of national development programmes. A community development project may depend for its success on technical skills and financial assistance provided by a local authority, and again the authority may be prepared to take over the running of the project initiated through self-help and communal labour.

Local government is essential to the process of modernization. The importance of agriculture to the economies of the developing nations means that a great deal of development entails extension work in the rural areas to increase agricultural production. The re-education of farmers and the introduction of new crops, techniques and tools are essentially a local matter. Much of the social and physical infrastructure of development entails the accumulation and co-ordination of local programmes and enterprises. One weakness of development programmes that has been identified is over-centralisation. This involves neglecting the rural areas and over-concentrating on the towns and in particular the capital city in terms of public expenditure. A distinguished economist described the sort of situation that should be avoided through the encouragement of local development programmes thus:

> "Many programmes do too much to beautify the cities or to provide them with better houses, schools, water supplies or medical services, in comparison with what they do for the rural areas where most of the people live. Plans made for the country from the town also tend to be of a spectacular kind, which can be shown off to visitors. Too much is spent on contributing a few elegant highways, and too little on a multitude of small farm-to-market roads, which might add more to output. Or vast resources will be poured into controlling a single river, where the same money would yield much more if spent on a number of wells, tanks and small streams. . . . The remedy is not to eschew the spectacular, but to take care that the planning process is adequately decentralised. The rural areas should be encouraged to make their own plans and their representation in the planning process should be adequate to ensure that their wants are not overlooked."[3]

[3] W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth*, London, 1955, pp. 394-5.

These economic arguments for the decentralisation of development programmes strongly support the integration of local authorities in the process of planning and executing development, whether as agents of the central government financed by central grants, or as initiating authorities supporting local projects with local revenues. Local government in the developing world has to respond to the demands of that world; demands not only for democracy and national economic planning but also for social welfare, a higher standard of living and local development.[4] Local government has moved out of the era of negative government primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order and the protection of property, and is well into the era of the welfare state where it is committed to a major role in the provision of services relating to private and public health, education and the development of natural resources. The history of local government in Northern Nigeria aptly illustrates this change and shows how a system of local government became more oriented towards development during the transition from indirect to direct administration.

First phase: 1900-1925:

Three broad stages in the development of local government's relation to socio-economic development in Northern Nigeria may be identified. The first is associated with the origins of indirect rule under the inspiration of Lord Lugard, when the main concern was to locate indigenous sources of local authority and to establish law and order through these authorities.

This was the period in which the fundamentals of administration were created. Boundaries were marked, administrative organizations created and treasuries established. The Native Authorities were entrusted with the enforcement of native law and custom and with the duty of maintaining order within their boundaries. On the approval of the Governor rules could be made adding to customary law in the interest of order and "to promote the welfare of the natives". Thus the traditional functions of government could be directed towards activities which would contribute to economic development. For example, native courts were called upon to assist in the prevention of bush fires and the destruction of trees, thus preventing deforestation and loss of sylvan produce. With the establishment of Native Treasuries the concept of local revenues for local development was more clearly defined, and expenditure was authorised for the upkeep of local roads, capital works (such as new roads, bridges and markets) education (salaries of native teaching staff and the supply of apparatus) and health facilities, including sanitation and native dispensaries. Provision was also made for participation in the development of agriculture and forestry by native authorities, but this amounted to very little in this first phase of local government.[5]

Some idea of the distribution of N.A. funds can be obtained from the following table showing revenues allocated to the Native Treasuries of Sokoto, Kano, Katsina and Bornu.

During this period most of the initiative in respect of development came from the administrative officers, and in particular the district officers, sta-

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[4] cf. H. F. Alderfer, *Local Government in Developing Countries*, McGraw-Hill, 1964, p.227.

[5] Lord Lugard, *Political Memoranda*, 1913-1918, London, 1919, p. 329.

Table 1.

Typical distribution of funds to Native Treasuries, 1910-11.[6]

Item	Sokoto	Kano	Katsina	Bornu
	£	£	£	£
Administration & Treasury	25,303	41,946	4,408	9,100
Judicial	552	2,760	1,220	1,248
Police, Prisons	2,688	3,207	636	647
Public Works	600	4,836	1,178	342
Education	250	1,240	200	300
Hospitals and Sanitation	—	1,024	—	1,080
Special grants for economic development	—	500	300	—
Miscellaneous	300	1,500	144	25
Balances and Reserves	6,406	12,027	6,000	—
Total:	36,099	69,040	14,086	12,742

tioned in the provinces and localities. Their duties are a clue to the main activities of native authorities. As advisers to the more efficient N.As and administrators of local affairs in those areas where the N.As were incapable of performing their duties effectively, the district officers carried out a wide range of loosely defined functions, primarily in relation to law, order and taxation. However, the district officer was also charged with the encouragement of trade and the development of local economies, by advising on cotton growing, improved transportation, the siting of new markets, and so on. Great emphasis was placed on road making and the use of wheeled transport. The district officer could also be called upon to plan new villages, particularly the layout of streets and the siting of markets. The chief political officer in each province, the Resident, was charged with promoting the planting of useful trees and with the encouragement of public sanitation in native towns. It will be noticed that many of these local projects were concerned with community improvement primarily and only indirectly related to economic development.

The report of progress in Zaria Province contained in the *Annual Report on Northern Nigeria*, 1907-8 illustrates the main characteristics of local government during this period. It mentions the difficulty with which the district authorities in Zaria Division were established and the surprising effectiveness with which some district heads carried out the administration of their areas, including tax assessment and collection, arrests, sanitation and road clearing. The authority of the Administration was finally extended over the whole province by "the opening up of three hitherto unvisited pagan areas". The whole province had been assessed for taxation and the eleven Native Courts and Judicial Councils had tried 395 cases in the year. The

[6] Source: *Annual Reports on Northern Nigeria*, 1900-1911, p. 750.

Emir of Zaria was attempting to reform his police force. The sanitation of the native towns had been taken in hand by district heads.

It must be recognised that development during this period was primarily the function of the central administration. The development of trade, industry and communications was largely beyond the capacity of local authorities and was given priority by Lugard as inevitably preceeding local developments. In his Political Memoranda Lugard wrote: "The stem and main branches of a tree must receive the bulk of the sap and be developed before its outlying limbs. The main trunk railways and roads must first connect the centres of trade, and of mineral and other development, with the ports." The fundamentals of development, including during this period road, river and rail transport, health and education, were thus in the hands of the central government. In some spheres, such as sanitation, responsibility was shared by central and local governments.

Table 2 illustrates the extent of the Protectorate Government's expenditure on development services from 1910-1911.

Table 2

Selected expenditures of the Government of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria 1910-11.[7]

Head	£
Political	76,515
Postal and telegraphs	17,455
Medical	32,715
Agriculture & Forestry	2,654
Education	923
Public Works[8]	30,188
Railways	24,443

Other factors may be said to have inhibited local development works. One was a lack of statutory authority. The early ordinances governing native authorities gave them regulatory powers but little substantive authority. Often N.As were blamed for not initiating local developments when in fact they were not empowered to by law. In other cases the district officer would be the initiator, especially where authorities were administratively and financially weak.[9] The drawback here was that not all political officers were development minded. Some of the most influential developed a philosophy of indirect rule which was inimical to development. For example, Charles Temple, one of the most distinguished Residents of the first decade of

[7] Source: *Annual Reports, Northern Nigeria*, 1900-11, p. 715.

[8] Including recurrent and capital expenditure on roads, bridges, public buildings and telegraph construction; excluding personal emoluments.

[9] L. Gray Cowan, *Local Government in West Africa*, Columbia University Press, 1958, p. 30.

indirect rule, believed that the duty of the British administrative officer was to preserve the social structure and cultures of indigenous societies and protect them from the disrupting effects of contact with an alien civilisation. The practical implications of this are not far to seek. Development plays a very secondary role to the business of creating local administration which might have existed under ideal conditions prior to British suzerainty. In his *Native Races and their Rulers* (1918) Temple wrote: "The opening up of new markets and the spreading of commerce, the provision of means of transport, railways, ships etc., all these are matters of highest importance from the point of view of the administrator, but I submit that they are, when we are guaging our duties and responsibilities as a whole, a secondary consideration. It is our first duty, I take it, to ensure that our rule operates as an elevating and not a degrading force on the characteristics of the subject races, the direction of whose affairs we have assumed."[10]

A combination of factors, some unavoidable, limited the activities of native authorities in the development field in the first two decades of indirect rule. They were partly financial, partly administrative and partly economic. Resources, both in terms of administrative and technical skills, and local revenues were scarce. The economic infrastructure took priority in the minds of Nigeria's leading decision-makers; while some of those decision-makers were anxious to shield local communities against too rapid change. Lugard's maxim, *festina lente*, applied to a greater or lesser degree, moulded the character of local administration during this period.

Second phase: 1925-1945:

In the early thirties the theory of indirect rule was substantially revised by Sir Donald Cameron, Governor of Nigeria from 1931 to 1934. Cameron was critical of the way the native authority system had developed in the previous six years. It appeared to him that many native authorities had become ultra-conservative and, aided by some administrative officers, shielded from modern administrative techniques and operations. The change of emphasis brought about by Cameron's governorship drew attention to the need for improvement as well as political support of native authorities. The administrative officer's task was to train local governments in the art of modern administration. In *The Principles of Native Administration and their Application* Cameron wrote:

> "I doubt sometimes whether we have done a great deal to impress on the minds of the native authorities concerned that the amelioration of the social and economic conditions of a people is one of the primary duties of an administration and that the inspiration to improvement must come from within, from the native administration itself."[11]

Developments during the first decade of this period have been recorded by Miss Perham in her *Native Administration in Nigeria* (1937). It must be noted that the depression of the 1930's restricted development work in Nigeria and delayed the practical application of Cameron's ideas. However, the growth of native treasury revenues between 1911 and 1929, from £197,000

[10] Quoted in A. H. M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), *The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria*, selected documents, 1900-47, London, 1965. p. 61.

[11] In Kirk-Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

to over £1½ millions enabled the northern native authorities to increase the proportion of their expenditure on developmental projects and in particular public works and welfare services.[12] In some areas, where Moslem prejudice was strong or where administrative organisations were ineffective, the Protectorate Government took direct charge of development services. Other native authorities were able to initiate and maintain impressive projects. For example, when Miss Perham visited Kano in 1935 she found a water works and power station costing the native authority almost £300,000. A £30,000 hospital was maintained, together with a number of related village dispensaries, by the native authority. A survey department had made a topographical survey of 5,000 square miles in the area and a survey of 300,000 acres of farm land round the city for revenue and legal purposes. A model farm was experimenting in mixed farming. Kano's administrative organisation included forestry, veterinary and medical departments.[13]

Kano was, of course, by no means typical and progress was uneven throughout the Northern Provinces during this period in the development of education, health and natural resources. The central government remained responsible for most of the services affecting the social and economic progress of towns and villages, such as the improvement of agriculture, forestry, veterinary services and medical facilities. Further progress was made after the mid-1930's as the world economic situation eased, and was stimulated by the governorship of Sir Bernard Bourdillon whose *Minute on the Apportionment of Revenues and Duties as Between the Central Government and the Native Administrations* (1939) defined authoritatively the relationships between local executive functions and financial resources. Bourdillon was particularly anxious to secure a more even standard of public works and social services throughout the Protectorate. The decision to allocate revenues on a more rational basis initially involved consideration of the duties to be performed by local authorities—revenues from taxation should depend on duties rather than the reverse. Bourdillon enumerated three principles which should govern when a service which was clearly local should be handed over to a native authority. (Dispensaries, maternity centre, rural hospitals, elementary and higher elementary schools, agricultural extension work, local demonstration and experimental farms, and local roads were listed as clear examples of native administration functions.) These principles were that the native authorities should be administratively competent, interested (by persuasion rather than compulsion) and financially capable—competence, consent and cash. For our purposes the significant point is the extensive range of functions which were considered to be potentially the work of local authorities.

Thus when Lord Hailey collected data for his report to the Colonial Office on *Native Administration in the British African Territories* during 1947 and 1948 he found an impressive range of services administered by native authorities, generally under the technical direction and supervision of government officers. Expenditure amounted to well over £2 millions. Native authorities provided 397 primary schools out of a total of 1,121, and 11 middle schools, taking 9·5 per cent of total local expenditure. In the field of health 8 hospitals

[12] See M. Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*, London, 1937, p. 121.
[13] *Ibid*, pp. 96-100.

were built and maintained by native authorities providing 873 beds out of a total of 1,966 in the Northern Provinces. These services accounted for 9·6 per cent of total expenditure. Native authorities maintained 214 dispensaries or health and welfare centres and some made contributions to mission leper settlements and dispensaries. Sanitation, vaccination and anti-tsetse campaigns were organised by other native authorities. Most provided agricultural, veterinary and forestry services. Provision of these services was by no means uniform throughout the Northern Provinces.[14]

The significant contribution of native authorities in the Northern Provinces to the development of economic resources and social welfare during this period is illustrated by the following table which also compares regional expenditure. It is clear that, even allowing for the fact that the central government's proportion of expenditure in local services includes headquarters establishments, "the contribution made by the native authorities is only complementary to the larger contribution made from general revenues."[15]

Table 3

Expenditure by Government and Native Authorities, selected local services, 1944-5 (percentages)[16]

Service:	Government	Northern N.A's	Western N.A's	Eastern N.A's
Agriculture	89·78	7·82	1·67	0·73
Education	80·60	13·59	2·94	2·87
Forestry	70·04	15·20	13·42	1·34
Medical & Health	78·50	11·58	6·04	3·88
Surveys	77·46	18·27	2·36	1·91
Works Recurrent	50·88	26·14	14·07	8·91
Works Extraordinary	75·77	16·68	4·16	3·39
Preceding Heads Combined	71·05	16·53	7·69	4·73

There are a number of reasons for the importance of the central government's role. Many services owed their origin to the efforts and efficiency of the central government's administrative officers. Their operation was supervised by central technical and professional staff. In many of the backward areas administration was in practice almost direct rather than indirect. One of the most vital tasks of the central administration has been the training of native authority personnel. Lord Hailey predicted that the problem of the relationship between central and local government staff in the field of local

[14] For further examples, see Lord Hailey, *Native Administration in the British African Territories*, London, H.M.S.O., 1951, pp. 72-74.

[15] *Ibid*, p. 74.

[16] Source: Hailey, p. 74.

services, "based on a measure of co-operation between the native authorities and the officers of government, both political and technical, which is a standing tribute to the good sense and good will of both parties", might not be easy of solution under different political conditions, i.e., when local governments became agents of an independent state and were placed on a more popular basis. In fact, there were to be very few problems in this respect.

Third phase: 1945-1966:

Before examining the native authorities' role in development under independence it is necessary to begin before 1960 with the British post-war policy for local government in dependent territories. The essence of this policy was that indirect rule should be replaced by democratic and efficient local government which would both prepare the people politically for the independence which was soon to come, and would increase the effectiveness with which local services helping to raise the standard of living were managed. The new conception of local government was expressed in the despatch to colonial governors from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1947. The despatch points out that a number of African governments were commencing their first ten year development programmes and that "it is in the townships and villages, among the people themselves, that much of this action must take place. There are many development schemes where success, in the whole or in part, depends on the active co-operation of the people, and that co-operation can best be secured through the leadership of local authorities."[17]

Northern Nigeria has been, perhaps wisely, slow in implementing the political aspect of this policy—i.e., greater democratization in the interest of the political education of the people, although in 1963 the Northern Government decided that all native authority councils should contain some elected members. In 1963 slightly over half (50·8 per cent) of the native authority councillors were elected (854 out of 1,680), compared with 42·2 per cent (535 out of 1,267) in 1958.[18]

However, in terms of functions relating to social and economic development, the northern native authorities have maintained their position of importance in the administrative system of the Region. This is reflected in the Native Authority Law of 1954 which resulted from the enquiries of 1950 and 1951 into the local government system.[19] This law gives wide powers to native authorities to contribute to economic development and to the infrastructure of development: "A native authority may, with the approval of the Lieutenant Governor engage in any form of trade, industry or commerce for the purposes of directly furthering the administration, development and welfare of the area of its jurisdiction and of satisfying a public need which cannot otherwise be adequately satisfied, and may provide any public service for the same purpose."[20] More specifically a native authority may establish

[17] In Kirk-Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

[18] Ronald Wraith, *Local Government in West Africa*, London, 1964, pp. 128-9; See also Cowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-80.

[19] K. P. Maddocks, D. Pott, *Report on Local Government in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, Kaduna, 1950; Report of a Joint Select Committee of the Northern Regional Council on the *Development of Local Administration*, 1951.

[20] Native Authority Law No. 4, 1954, s. 31.

and manage markets, develop agriculture, forestry and livestock and control the use of land. They may make rules in the interest of public health and the promotion of trade or industry. Thus one of the objectives of this legislation, as was indicated by an official statement on local government in 1953, was to modify the system so as to make a substantial programme for development possible.[21]

Perhaps the most significant indication of the native authorities' role in development is the integration of their capital expenditure into the Region's development plan. Native authorities are required to submit plans of their capital development projects to the Regional Government, as far as possible laying emphasis on the priorities contained in the plan. Thus in the current development plan (1962-8) the major emphasis is placed on education and the development of national resources (agriculture, forestry and livestock).[22] The following table shows how capital expenditure has developed since the war. There are no records of actual expenditure for the 1949-54 period, except a total of £3,907,010, or 83 per cent of the estimate. However, the proportions under different heads were probably the same in actual expenditure. The large "miscellaneous" category is the result of difficulties in computation. The 1959-64 period was interrupted by the need to draw native authority capital development in line with the priorities laid down in the six year plan, 1962-68. Thus only estimates are available.[23]

Table 4

N.A. Capital Development, 1949-1964.[24]

Function	1949-54 Est.		1954-59				1959-64 Est.	
	£[25]	%	£ Est.	%Est	£ Act.	% Act	£	%
Agriculture	226·9	5·9	240·6	3·7	131·0	1·8	343·1	3·1
Education	924·0	20·6	1258·8	19·5	1454·5	19·6	2373·8	21·7
Forestry	50·2	1·1	80·0	1·2	87·4	1·2	162·2	1·5
Medical	351·4	8·0	475·2	7·4	422·2	5·7	806·7	7·4
Veterinary	126·6	2·8	171·1	2·7	139·3	1·9	237·5	2·2
Communications	580·6	12·9	1094·7	17·0	1249·8	16·9	1728·5	15·8
Public Buildings	520·2	11·6	868·3	13·4	1328·8	17·9	1780·0	16·3
Urban Development	188·7	4·2	417·9	6·5	422·3	5·7	876·9	8·0
Rural Development	492·6	11·0	664·9	10·3	630·9	8·5	1335·3	12·2
Public Utilities	128·0	2·9	713·2	11·0	134·1	1·8	922·3	8·4
Miscellaneous	639·2	14·2	233·7	3·6	1406·5	19·0	370·5	3·4
Unallocated	214·4	4·8	239·0	3·7	—	—	0·8	—
Total:	4442·8	100·0	6457·4	100·0	7406·8	100·0	10937·6	100·0

[21] *Local Government Development in the Northern Region*, Kaduna, 1953.

[22] Ministry of Economic Planning, *Development Plan*, 1962-8, Kaduna.

[23] See J. A. Edwards (ed.) *Northern Nigeria Local Government Yearbook*, 1965, Institute of Administration, Zaria, 1965, pp. 52-56.

[24] Source: *Ibid*, pp. 52-54.

[25] Thousands.

The figures for 1954-59 give a clue to the problem of integrating development expenditure at two levels, i.e. the centre and the localities. Considerable deviations from the original estimates occurred, particularly in agriculture, public utilities, and public buildings. Native authorities have to meet local as well as central (or, in this case, regional) demands which can easily lead them to deviate from their original plans. This is aggravated by the administrative problem of co-ordinating local developments (e.g. relating a network of local roads to the national communications system). Native authorities were also faced with the problem of integrating incomplete projects under the 1959-64 plan with new commitments under the six year plan.

As was mentioned above, native authorities are required, as far as possible, to plan capital expenditure according to certain priorities. The regional government suggested maximum proportions for different heads of expenditure which the native authorities are required to observe. The following table shows the proportion of native authority development expenditure under different heads and the prescribed regional maxima. One specific requirement is that expenditure on natural resources, neglected in the past, should be increased. A further rough guide is that natural resources, education and communications should account for 60 per cent of capital expenditure.

Table 5[28]

N.A. Development Plans, 1962-68.

	Government Prescription	Percentage of N.A. Expenditure	
Natural Resources	not exceeding 20%	11·8	
Agriculture			4·9
Forestry			2·6
Veterinary			4·3
Education	" " 30%	35·7	
Communications	" " 20%	10·7	
Medical	" " 10%	8·3	
Public Buildings	" " 20%	10·2	
Urban Development	" " 10%	8·6	
Rural Development	" " 15%	8·3	
Public Utilities	" " 5%	3·7	
Miscellaneous		2·7	
		100·0	

[28] Source: *Ibid*, table 15.

It can be seen that the total allocation for the first three priorities (natural resources, education and communications)—58·2 per cent—corresponds to government requirements. Other items are roughly proportionate to government priorities. Clearly it is important for these intentions to be carried out. The actual expenditure involved amounts to £12½ millions. This is too great a sum to allow much modification in its proposed use if regional economic objectives are to be achieved. Balanced development throughout the Region, and the coordination of local plans require strict adherence to approved estimates of capital expenditure. Part of this expenditure is covered by regional grants (over £2 millions). The government thus needs to be able to predict its financial and administrative commitments, another factor demanding consistency on the part of native authorities.

The statistics for development reveal a wide variation in development potential among native authorities. While Bornu and Kano Native Authorities plan to develop medical services by capital expenditure amounting to £139,000 and £141,695 respectively for the period 1962-68, Jama'are and Kamabu plan expenditures of £1,000 and £100. Other extremes include £54,708 (Kano) and £200 (Lafiagi) on agriculture, and £358,052 (Kano) and £500 (Jama'are) on communications. Yet, as is so often the case, the poorer areas show the greatest need. The co-ordination of local development planning is made more difficult when the intention also is to bring the more remote, backward areas into the mainstream of development.

Table 6

Functional Expenditure by Native Authorities 1961-62.[39]

Type of Expenditure	Amount (£ thousands)	Percentage of Ordin. Expend.
Administration	1,514·5	15·7
Treasury	166·5	1·6
Police, Prisons, Judicial	1,652·8	16·9
Education	1,851·3	20·0
Medical and Health	931·6	10·0
Natural Resources	580·9	6·2
Recurrent Works	1,413·2	13·8
Capital Development	1,533·6	—
Commercial Undertakings	411·7	—

[39] Source: Northern Nigeria Ministry of Economic Planning, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1964, Kaduna, 1965.

Capital expenditure also reveals the variety of services performed by native authorities. They may be economic, such as the promotion of agricultural, animal and forest resources, and the operation of commercial undertakings (marketing groundnuts, selling scrap metal or running a wood workshop, for example). Other services form part of the infrastructure of development, such as the maintenance of roads, town and village planning and the development of markets. Finally, there are the personal and welfare services contributing to both social and economic development—dispensaries, schools, rural and urban water supplies and so on. Figures for expenditure on native authority functions show how far developmental services have increased in importance despite the vital duties of preserving law and order which remain with the native authorities. A recent government information pamphlet points out that "native authorities provide nearly all the government services at the local level."[27] Ursula Hicks' judgment is perhaps accurate: "If for any reason the northern native authorities were to cease to function the wheels of government in the region would probably grind to a standstill."[28]

In describing the importance of local development through native administrations the fact that the Regional Government still plays an important role should not be missed. The administrative officers of the Regional Government now perform different functions to those of pre-independence days, but the importance of their work has not diminished. Their supervision and advice to native authorities on organisational, financial and legal matters is still indispensable to the efficient operation of most native authorities. They also provide a valuable source of information and advice on the co-ordination of development projects and the various governmental policies involved (e.g. agriculture, health and town or village planning in the case of a resettlement scheme.) Co-ordination and team work are essential for the successful operation of social and economic development and the field administrative officer provides a natural focus for this, and a well-established and respected link with native authorities.

The technical specialists of the Regional Government are equally important to the success of local development schemes in Northern Nigeria. Local development remains a partnership enterprise, with the provincial team of agricultural, forestry, engineering and welfare officers assisting the native authorities in the execution of their responsibilities as well as directly administering the Regional Government's policies in the localities. The importance of their work is enhanced by the fact that not all native authorities are equally capable of carrying out such services as agricultural extension, soil conservation and village planning.[30] When we consider that nearly 37 per cent of the Region's manpower is employed in the service of the Regional or Federal Governments, and that 76 per cent and 89 per cent respectively work in the provinces (i.e. outside Kaduna), the size of the government's role in decentralised development becomes clearer. A further indication is the extent of regional investment in social, economic and community services:

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[27] *Local Government in Northern Nigeria*, Ministry of Information, Kaduna, 1965, p. 11.

[28] *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

[30] Wraith, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

Table 7

Capital Expenditure of Northern Government, 1962-63[31]

Field of Activity	£ thousands	Percentage
Government Services	613·2	8·3
General Administration	487·8	6·5
Justice, Police and Prisons	135·4	1·8
Social and Community Services	3,440·9	46·2
Education	1,228·0	16·4
Health	474·2	6·3
Water Supply	1,115·0	15·4
Land and Survey	37·0	0·4
Other Community Services	586·7	7·7
Economic Services	3,394·3	45·5
Agriculture	505·6	6·8
Livestock	187·3	2·6
Forestry	37·7	0·5
Electricity	14·0	0·2
Trade and Industry	189·0	2·5
Public Works Organisation	210·0	2·7
Roads	1,830·5	24·6
Aviation	3·2	0·04
Co-operatives	417·0	5·6
Total:	7,448·4	100·0

In any system of development administration which entails the integration of local capital expenditure on a substantial scale with national or regional planning, the role of the central government is bound to increase, especially in its supervision and control of local authorities. Planning capital developments is a complicated process and there are few native authorities in the Northern Region capable of carrying out the sort of economic analysis required for forecasting the recurrent expenditure required to complement capital development, or the effects of development in terms of real income per head, or whether long term objectives will be reached, and so on.[32] Local authorities may have the required local knowledge but may lack the economic expertise which it will be the function of the central government to provide. "It is evident that local bodies will have to seek advice and guidance in answering these questions, and consequently that the central government must help them to get the economic and technical aid they require."[33] Fortunately Northern Nigerian government is characterised by a long tradi-

[31] Source: Northern Nigeria Ministry of Economic Planning, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1964, Kaduna, 1965.

[32] See Hicks, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-386.

[33] *Ibid*, p. 386.

tion of co-operation in the provision of local services between the two levels of authority. The partnership system has carried over into the post-independence period with remarkable smoothness.

Conclusion

A big question-mark hangs over the North's local government system as the debates about Nigeria's constitutional future continue. Like nearly all Nigerian political institutions, the native authorities have felt the effects of the military *coup* of January, 1966. But there is no reason as yet to think that their role in the process of economic and social development will be diminished. The Military Governor's Budget speech of April, 1966 endorsed the co-operation of government and native authorities in the expenditure of £68·5 millions in 1966-67, with the emphasis on agriculture, health and education (of the largest item—education—the biggest capital grant of £370,000 will go to primary education, the responsibility of the native authorities). The most sweeping reforms in local administration since the *coup* have affected the "law and order" functions of native authorities. Native authority courts are being merged with the judiciary, N.A. police are to be brought under the control of the Inspector General of Police and the Federal Government is taking over native authority prisons. Native authorities are being encouraged to concentrate on the development of social services and natural resources. The position of the native authorities as regards capital works and development has recently been strengthened by the creation of a Native Authorities Capital Development Fund out of which loans can be made to native authorities for development purposes, including short term loans to augment working capital and facilitate the discharge of native authority functions.[34]

This is not to say that native authorities are all ideally equipped to perform these functions. Two problems are outstanding: one arising from the fact that, because of size and resources, many native authorities are incapable of efficient administration; the other from the difficulty encountered by local government in recruiting and keeping the required technical and professional staff. These are the areas requiring at least examination and probably reform, if native authorities are to continue to play their part in the development of economic and social resources. The criteria of optimum area needs to be applied to the administration of all native authority services.

Areas should be defined by administrative as well as political factors. Providing the pay and conditions attractive to the required administrative personnel, and in this way reducing local dependence on central government, would enable local government to emerge as a more responsible system of administration. A full examination of these and other problems in the field of local government in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria would require a separate volume. Suffice to say that native authorities are playing an important part in the North's socio-economic development, and that the system, like any system of local government, requires constant review in the interests of efficiency and local democracy.

[34] The Native Authorities Loans Authority Edict, 1966, Section 21.

The Establishment of the Fijian Administration. Part II[1] 1954-1965 Moves towards Reform

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Sir Lala Sukuna retired from his post of Secretary for Fijian Affairs on 8th April, 1954, becoming Speaker of the Legislative Council while retaining other administrative posts, especially in connection with Fijian lands. Because the Fijian Administration was so much a projection of his own personality, one might suppose that with his departure the usual fate of constitutions built round a particular man would overtake it; but this did not immediately happen because Sukuna's influence was still present in the government and his successor, G. K. Roth, was a man deeply versed in Fijian custom, the author of *The Fijian Way of Life*, a book which enshrined the Fijian tradition represented by Sukuna and his fellow high chiefs.[2] Moreover Roth was as convinced as Sukuna that 'the methods of administration used in the Fijian local government system have a foundation which Fijians can appreciate and do in practice support.'[3] This conviction continued to be held by Roth's successor, C. R. H. Nott, but by 1959, when A. C. Reid became Secretary, the force of Sukuna's personality had vanished with his death in the previous year. In that year, the Secretary described the Fijian Administration as 'marking time' while it was subjected to almost annual examination by experts:[4] by R. S. McDougall who looked at Fijian Administration Finances in 1957,[5] by O. H. K. Spate who reported upon the Fijian People: Economic Problems and Prospects,[6] and by Sir Alan Burns who led a Commission to report upon the Natural Resources and Population Trends.[7] All of these experts had perforce to consider the operation of the Fijian Administration and all of them were, to a greater or lesser degree, critical. The Fijian Administration had, in fact, ceased to be the instrument of slow but nevertheless sure change and had become rather more concerned with preserving the *status quo*,[8] a situation underlined at the Council of Chiefs meeting in 1962 when a high chief who was Chairman, Ratu Penaia Ganilau who was then Acting Secretary for Fijian Affairs, quoted Sukuna upon the duties and obligations of chiefs to lead for the good of the people and then went on:[9]

[1] Part I of Dr. West's Article was published in the October 1966 issue of the *Journal*.

[2] G. K. Roth, *The Fijian Way of Life*, Melbourne, 1953.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

[4] Legislative Council of Fiji, Council Paper No. 3/1961, p. 1. (hereafter, these papers will be cited as C.P. followed by their number and date).

[5] C.P. 35/1957.

[6] C.P. 13/1959.

[7] C.P. 1/1960.

[8] The structure and working of the Fijian Administration is discussed at length in F. J. West, *Political Advancement in the South Pacific*, (Oxford University Press 1961), pp. 24-66.

[9] C.P. 9/1965, p. 5.

> "The old regime is finished; today there are many new and intricate problems to consider and guard against. It is true that many of us are educated; it is equally a fact that very few of us have had any practical experience in leadership. What we require today, what the indigenous Fijians are crying out for in these troublous times, is a leader capable of guiding all Fijians in the face of competition from other races. In the past, as is the case today, there existed two permanent sources for leadership—rank and education."

He continued with a verbatim, although unacknowledged, quotation of Sukuna's exhortation on the necessity for chiefs to cease to rely simply on status, to cease to be simply decorative, and concluded:

> "We are all concerned that the Fijian Administration should not be abolished, but if we do not persevere in our efforts to maintain its life, as is evidenced by the decline in rate collection in recent years, then it would be difficult for both this Council and the Fijian Affairs Board to carry out its administrative functions.

This last point, the finances of the Fijian Administration (which by 1962 were obviously inadequate) was the object of the first of the expert examinations. McDougall's terms of reference in 1957 included a review of the extent to which the Fijian Administration 'carries out responsibilities which are essentially those of the Central Government' and what alternative provisions might be made 'to provide incentives to financial responsibility and efficient economical administration'.[10] In order to answer these questions, McDougall thought it was necessary to ask whether the Fijian Administration should be continued as a separate government but in the event he felt obliged to assume that this decision had been taken and that it would last 'for many years to come'. At the same time he concluded that it was obvious that very little discretion was given to the local Provincial Councils, all of whose decisions must go to the Secretary for Fijian Affairs for confirmation, and this, by preventing local self government, both weakened the system and accounted for the strong resistance of Fijians to the payment of local taxes.[11] In fact, as he went on to point out, the income raised by the Provincial Councils did little more than pay for their own costs of administration and there was little money left over for economic or social services.[12] On a technical level, the basis even of this limited revenue was an unfair tax. McDougall suggested that the local tax, which was improperly called a 'rate' although it was actually a head tax, should be replaced not by an income tax, the obvious remedy which would not unfortunately be practicable, but by a graded head tax.[13] He further recommended a Land Tax, as a general imposition, in the form that the Fiscal Review Committee of the colony had put forward in 1954, upon land in whatever form of ownership, and a compulsory levy upon produce in addition to the cess on copra the Fijian Development Fund already levied. McDougall disliked the government subvention to the Fijian Administration, then running at £89,000, which did nothing, he said, to encourage administrative efficiency, but he recom-

[10] C.P. 35/1957, p. 1.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

mended an increase under a different system of distribution. He concluded that his recommendations must stand or fall together and he urged change upon the Fijians: '. . . their system of land tenure discourages development, . . . some of their customs and traditions encourage thriftlessness, . . . personal initiative is stifled. These customs and traditions are man made. Some have already been changed, others must be if the Fijians are to make progress . . .'.[14]

McDougall had laid his finger upon one of the central problems of the Fijian Administration: the fact that it cost as much to administer as the money it was able to raise, that most of the revenue actually went into the expense of collecting it. And, plainly, if Sukuna's assumption about the capacity of his fellow chiefs to lead, to rise to the occasion, ceased to be widely shared among the Fijians themselves, then the Fijian Administration would break down. At the Council of Chiefs in 1962, the Governor emphasised the point:[15]

> "While economic development must be our main objective, satisfactory progress will not be made until the administrative framework is sound. I must tell you frankly that I have been greatly concerned to see that during the last few years there has been a most serious falling off in the payment of provincial rates—so serious as to endanger the very existence of the Fijian Administration in its present form . . . the failure of such a large proportion of the population to pay their rates suggests that they have become dissatisfied with its present form and raises serious doubt about its suitability to current conditions."

What had happened, or rather failed to happen, was any substantial change resulting from the McDougall report. His suggestion of a produce tax, for example, has been endorsed by the Spate report and embodied in legislation as Ordnance No. 9 of 1959, but the Burns Commission made strong representations against it and the Ordinance was not brought into force.[16] Such confusion was not simply the fault of the Fijian Administration itself but it did reflect uncertainty about the way in which it should or could work, not merely in its own ranks but in the ranks of the experts who looked at it.

McDougall took for granted that the Fijian Administration would continue as a separate government. Spate, believing that the objective for Fijian society should be a community of independent farmers and the disappearance of the chiefly communal system,[17] was critical of the Fijian Administration and its chiefly leaders, but he too accepted the organisation itself, suggesting procedural and constitutional changes to make it work more efficiently. The Burns Commission was more outspoken. Like their predecessors, the terms of reference did not include the Fijian Administration as such, but, again like their predecessors, Burns and his colleagues were driven to consider its place in the development of Fiji. They said that the system was designed to be a local government one 'which it is not',[18] and they strongly supported changes which would make it so. They argued for multi-racial local councils

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[15] C.P. 9/1965, p. 3.
[16] C.P. 1/1960, p. 31.
[17] C.P. 13/1959, p. 9.
[18] C.P. 1/1960, p. 29.

to be gradually introduced, a start being made with certain obviously suitable areas, and they considered that where such true local government was set up the Fijian Administration, as such, should cease to operate, its local staff being transferred to the local government organisation.[19] To the objection that such absorption of the Fijian Administration into a multi-racial local government system would mean loss of racial and cultural identity they replied that 'customs and culture are of their essence changeable, and that those that are truly alive and viable will survive'. This is a somewhat tautological proposition, but it represented the heart of the case against the Fijian Administration which, with Sukuna's disappearance, had come to be an obstacle to change and to be concerned with maintaining the *status quo* as the Fijian chiefs saw it. The rigidity, which was always implicit in Sukuna's view of Fijian society and its 'institutionalisation' as a part of colonial government, had become obvious.[20]

Ultimately, as Spate and the Burns Commission argued, the core of the problem was to change social and economic attitudes, especially in regard to land tenure and utilisation, but they and McDougall before them, had to decide upon the modification or replacement of the machinery of Fijian Administration by which this might best be done. Spate, for example, recommended a change to a larger land owning unit than the *mataqali*,[21] but the Burns Commission wanted the latter's retention.[22] Spate recommended that there be an overhaul of the Fijian Regulations to eliminate obsolete or unenforced rules, that Provincial and *Tikina* councils should have more executive, including fiscal, responsibility and that the recruitment of the *buli*, the vital officer of the system, should be on a more professional basis.[23] The Burns Commission recommended that there be a multi-racial local government system, that the Fijian Affairs Department be moved into the Secretariat as part of central government, the title of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs being changed as soon as possible to Secretary for Local Government and that *roko* (and *buli*) should be made more responsible to the District Commissioners.[24] Whether or not there was any fundamental inconsistency between these experts' recommendations, there seemed to be to the Fijian chiefs, and the sense of being under attack certainly caused delay and confusion in their consideration of these reports and a piecemeal selection by the government of initial recommendations to be implemented.

Where Spate and the Burns Commission were clearly unanimous, as in their recommendations to introduce selected representation for the Fijians in the Legislative Council and on the Suva City Council, these were accepted by the Council of Chiefs at their meeting of 1960, although only after a very lengthy discussion and a small majority of five.[25] To a recommendation such as the introduction of local government councils, the Council of Chiefs

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–1.

[20] For Sukuna's views and beliefs see, Francis West, 'The Establishment of the Fijian Administration : Part 1. Sir Lala Sukuna', *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 358.

[21] C.P. 13/1959, p. 15.

[22] C.P. 1/1960, p. 21.

[23] C.P. 13/1959, p. 98.

[24] C.P. 1/1960, pp. 125–6.

[25] Sir Alan Burns, *Fiji*, H.M.S.O., London 1963, p. 228.

adopted a more conservative attitude and, except in Suva, preferred to continue with the Fijian Administration. They were prepared to modify its organisation, but on the central issue of the Fijian Administration's existence, they would not move. In November 1963 the Governor said to the Legislative Council:[26]

> "Fijian society has until now been to a considerable extent following a traditional pattern. It has been argued that in the latter part of the last century the Fijians chose to contract out of the basic economy of the Colony. But owning as they do the greater part of the land in this Colony, I suggest that the time has now arrived when they must contract into the western economic system, even at the expense of an adjustment in their traditional way of life."

At that date the Council of Chiefs had taken no decision beyond agreeing to abolish certain sections of the Fijian Affairs Regulations relating to compulsory labour and setting up a committee at its 1962 meeting to examine the remaining Regulations and the Fijian Administration itself.[27]

This sub-committee reported to the Council of Chiefs meeting in 1963, which agreed in principle with the recommendations made to strengthen the powers of the Provincial Councils and to abolish the *tikina* councils and all the *tikina* officers. It also appointed Dr. Rusiate Nayacakalou, who was then Rural Planning Officer, to explain the recommendations to all of the Provincial Councils, including recommendations to introduce a land tax adequately to finance the councils. Dr. Nayacakalou's extensive propaganda work bore fruit at the Council of Chiefs meeting in May 1965,[28] and it was supported by the first Fijian to hold office as Secretary for Fijian Affairs and Local Government, Ratu Penaia Ganilau. The title of this office had been extended when the member-system in the Legislative Council was introduced into Fiji in July 1964. The Secretary for Fijian Affairs then became the Governor's principal adviser upon local government in urban as well as rural areas at that point, and by mid 1965 the Governor hoped that the position would facilitate the integration of the Provincial Councils into a local government system. For the Council of Chiefs then accepted detailed modifications of the Fijian Administration in a week-long meeting at the end of May, modifications which were agreed to in the context of the coming constitutional conference in London and of legislation about land tenure.

Ratu Ganilau, invoking the name and the intentions of Sukuna for the Fijian Administration, urged the changes upon his fellow chiefs. The main step towards local government was based upon the Provincial Councils whose powers were increased. The remaining Fijian Regulations were to become bye-Laws of the Provincial Councils which might add to them (if they deemed additions necessary for their particular province), thus giving some powers formerly exercised by the Fijian Affairs Board to the Provincial Councils. The Secretary for Fijian Affairs or his deputy would no longer preside over the Councils, nor would officials be voting members of these bodies but would instead become invited members whose advice the Provincial Council could ask for. A Provincial Council could decide questions

[26] C.P. 32/1963, p. 3.
[27] C.P. 9/1965, p. 6.
[28] *Fiji Times*, 31st May, 1965.

of water supply, feeder roads, the improvement of tracks, markets, schools and dispensaries which the province wished to provide and which the Government was now providing. Estimates of revenue and expenditure were still to go to the Secretary for Fijian Affairs and Local Government for his approval (as were the Fijian Regulations passed as bye-laws to go to the Fijian Affairs Board for its confirmation),[29] but the revenue itself was to come from a land tax as proposed by Dr. Nayacakalou, of which the proceeds were to go directly to the Provincial Council which might penalize failure to pay by seizing the crops of the offending individual, *toka toka* or *mataqali* and using the money raised by their sale to pay the tax. In addition the Provincial Council was empowered to appoint sub-committees to implement its decisions and it was given power to appoint all its staff, from the *roko* down. The central government would continue to offer financial assistance but this would be done for particular provinces as necessary, not as a block sub-division of all provincial funds which had hitherto been collected by the Central Government. At first the Government would also help in appointing provincial staff from a central pool of Fijian Administration officials on the advice of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs. Moreover, as a consequence of this reform in the power of the Provincial Councils, the *tikina* organisation would be abolished. The *Tikina* Councils which had formerly elected the Provincial Council members would go, and election would now be by secret ballot with the old or new *tikinas* as the constituencies.[30] The office of *buli* would also disappear, and the *tikina* regulations would be repealed.

Having resolved upon these detailed modifications, however, a widespread publicity campaign had to be organised to make them known in the villages, and three officials, on behalf of the Fijian Affairs Board, made extensive tours in all of the fourteen provinces, while the annual meetings of the old Provincial Councils in 1965 considered the new draft regulations. Not until January 1966 was the Fijian Affairs Board in a position, in consultation with the Crown Law Office, the District Commissioners, the *roko* and the officers of the central and provincial administration, to reach an agreement on the implementation of the new regulations,[31] and the setting up of the modernised machinery of Fijian Administration is still in process.

After six years of discussion, certain modifications are thus being made in the Fijian Administration, and another Fijian high chief, Ratu Penaia Ganilau, with the aid of an educated commoner, Dr. Rusiate Nayacakalou, has managed to carry his fellow chiefs with him. In doing this, he has, significantly enough, been appealing to the spirit and the words of Sir Lala Sukuna. How these modifications will work it is too early to say, but on two essential points the Fijian Administration still represents Sukuna's views. The move towards local government intended by the reform of the Provincial Councils, whatever its merits, still isolates the Fijians within their own system of administration even if certain aspects, such as justice, are now part of the

[29] The Council of Chiefs also agreed that Fijian Courts should be subject to the judicial Department of the colony, and that Fijian Magistrates should receive wider instruction. Many of the laws which affected only Fijians and for which there was no provision in the general laws of the colony were also repealed.

[30] The Provincial Council itself could decide whether the old or the new *tikina* should be the constituency; for the origin of old and new *tikina* see West, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 54, 59.

[31] *Fiji Times*, 19th January, 1966.

general government; the reforms do not in fact implement the Burns recommendations for multi-racial local government, and the justification is still being offered that the Fijians need time to adjust themselves to other races and to modern conditions. The Council of Chiefs in 1965 deferred any decision about the Fijian Administration's becoming the foundation of multi-racial local government until a future meeting. This is the first legacy of Sukuna. The second is that, although one source of conflict between traditional rank and modern administrative responsibility in the office of *buli* has been eliminated, in the *roko* and *turaga-ni-koro* the conflict still survives. The very length of time taken over the modest reforms which have been agreed upon shows the conservatism of many Fijian chiefs and the difficulties of changing an administrative system into which a traditional view of the past has been built. The Council of Chiefs itself, although prepared to extend its own system of election, remains as it was.[32] Whether the reformed system works or not depends, as it always has done, upon the personalities of a few leaders and upon their being able to carry with them a majority of less educated, less vigorous, more conservative colleagues. The Fijian Administration, reformed to promote change, still has built-in resistance to it, resistance which can only be removed by pressures from outside it not by its own dynamic: by a slow process of education, by social and economic changes such as individual land tenure implies, by Fijian involvement in political life as electors and party members through the newly constituted Legislative Council. But the central problem still remains that of promoting change through a system of Fijian Administration which the changes will finally abolish.

[32] F. J. West, *Political Advancement in the South Pacific*, (Oxford, 1961), pp. 29-30, 44-50.

Quarterly Notes

BRITAIN – *Comment on the 1966 Cambridge Summer Conference on 'How to Make Aid More Effective Through Co-operation'*

From N. E. VENNER

Mr. N. E. Venner, O.B.E., is Financial Secretary, St. Lucia.

When I received the invitation to attend the 1966 O.S.C. Conference on the theme "How to make aid more effective through co-operation". I was pleased to be given the opportunity to discuss the problems which face donors as well as recipients of aid and to assist in the task of trying to find solutions which might prove generally acceptable.

I observed from the list of participants that donor as well as recipient countries were represented and that these included politicians, Government officials, University teachers and persons operating in various fields in the private sector. Above all, the impressive array of economists did not escape my notice and my sympathy went to Dr. Robinson, Conference Chairman, because I feared that there might well be not only as many opinions as there are economists, but that there would most likely be more opinions than there are economists!

During the conference, spokesmen for donors and recipients did not fail to put forward their case, and although there were occasional spells of obscurity, attacks and counter-attacks, directions and re-directions by the Chairman and excursions into space, it was evident that conference members, whether representatives of donors or recipients, showed a genuine interest in the search for solutions to the problems involved in aid giving and aid receiving.

The conference has indeed hit on a few reasonable solutions which could be of assistance to donors and recipients of aid. But the conference has achieved more than this. It has to some extent increased the degree of understanding of the difficulties experienced on both sides and this is likely to remove some of the obstacles in the aid field. Further, some operators in the aid field in the recipient countries had never met their opposite numbers in other recipient countries, nor had they ever met operators in the donor countries or operators in the multi-lateral agencies. The conference provided a convenient means whereby they could meet one another and establish contacts which could prove extremely useful in promoting better understanding, mutual sympathy, and more effective use of aid.

The effectiveness of the conference was somewhat reduced by the existence of too many conference papers. In future, it would appear that one paper should be written on each main agenda item and that copies should be circulated in advance to each participant. Each agenda item should be dealt with by a committee whose chairman should be selected before the date on which the conference is due to commence. It may also be helpful if the contributors as well as the chairman of committees could be properly briefed.

These O.S.C. Conferences are useful in that for one thing they serve to promote greater international understanding which is so necessary at this juncture of world history. The originators deserve commendation for their effort in filling a gap in the field of international relations.

From G. M. MEIER

Professor G. M. Meier is Professor of International Economics at Stanford University, U.S.A.

In an Age of Conferences, it calls for very special ingredients to result in a singularly successful conference. The Cambridge Conference had such ingredients – a crucially important topic for the developing countries; participants from donor and recipient nations with important things to say from many different viewpoints; and, of course, an exceptional environment that can not be duplicated.

Major issues of foreign aid programmes were considered; the case for more aid, the relationships between bilateral and multilateral aid efforts, more effective use of aid, the interconnections between trade and aid, and techniques for improving the effectiveness of both capital assistance and technical assistance.

The value in discussing these problems was not that unanimous conclusions were reached, but rather that each individual participant had abundant opportunity to share his views with others, have them subjected to appraisal and criticism, and then reach a refined or revised conclusion for himself. The academician surely introduced the longer view; the administrator knew the operational constraints; and the politician was aware of the political feasibility, all benefited from this mixture.

A central conclusion in my own mind was the desirability of increasing multilateral aid (particularly contributions to the World Bank Group) in order to allow multilateral agencies to play a leadership and management role in coordinating bilateral programmes (consortia) on a regional basis. Perhaps the most difficult analytical problem to emerge was the exact relationship between aid and the balance of payments. It was particularly significant that a good part of the discussion was not in terms of how aid programmes had proceeded in the past, but rather in new terms of the future size and forms of aid. What could have been a conventional subject was kept continually fresh through the unusual mix of professional participants and the searching questions about the future.

From G. A. POSTHUMUS

Mr. Posthumus is attached to the Department of Financial Development Aid at the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The most exciting moments of the Overseas Studies Committee 1966 Conference were the debates on the question "why aid". A convincing argument for aid somehow keeps escaping us, which can be judged by the fact that, though everybody knows that the present level of aid is insufficient and that the present forms of aid are not adapted to the needs, this unsatisfactory situation remains unchanged. That it is important to look for clearer concepts, not obscured by national interests and problems, seems to me to be proved also by the existing policies of tying aid to one's own exports: even if it is true that the alternative to tied aid is not untied aid, but less aid, then still the question remains whether more tied aid at the cost of disrupting trade channels, subsidizing inefficient industries, increasing the cost of aid for the recipients etc., is really so valuable. And one should realise that it is gross aid which is tied, so that the effects of tying tend to spread like oil on water, even if net aid remains the same.

It was suggested in the conference that the basic problem we are confronted with is how to employ the unused resources of the world; if this were an accepted aim then aid could be seen as one of a package of measures (aid, trade, investment, liquidity-creation, etc.). The subject of the conference, in the words of one of the participants, would then be "How to make the development process more effective through co-operation". Concepts like these seem more satisfying and better suited to solve the above-mentioned problems of aid, but they are still too vague to derive policy-guidelines from them.

This conference was very valuable to me because it gave much to think about, even in the sphere of "mythology", to which one observer likened the debates to which I have referred. I selected the foregoing impression mainly because I found these subjects so interesting; partly to avoid a cost-benefit analysis of the conference, because here the words on aid by one conference member seem to apply: 'the cost comes now, the benefit comes later'.

From H. V. WISEMAN:

Professor Wiseman is Professor of Government at Exeter University.

As with most conferences one cannot avoid the obvious point that the opportunity to meet a variety of people from all over the World and with a variety of interests and experiences is perhaps the most valuable part of the exercise. At this conference this opportunity was amply provided informally as well as formally.

There are, however, suggestions which might be considered in connection with the formal deliberations. There might be fewer plenary sessions and more group meetings – in which detailed interchange of ideas is somewhat easier. If the Steering Committee could select the broad theme and indicate the several main questions to be discussed, *each* group might discuss these questions (and any others which arise) and five or six reports dealing with the *same* issues would be available for discussion at the closing plenaries. This might help to avoid fragmentation and overlap and result in fewer irrelevant contributions.

At times it appeared that discussions were going on at at least two levels – the broad, philosophical and the detailed technical. This may be inevitable but it would assist if the latter aimed to illuminate the former. We all tend to ride hobby horses but at least they should be entered in the same race. For these reasons one appreciates the task of the Chairman, the Chairmen of Groups and the Rapporteurs – and offers up a silent prayer of thanks that one is not in any of these categories! But as a first-timer on this occasion I must end by emphasising that the conference was a thoroughly rewarding experience – even for a political scientist in a glut of economists.

AFRICA – *Regional Conference of African Schools and Institutes of Public Administration*

A most interesting and valuable Conference for Directors of African Schools and Institutes of Public Administration, as well as representatives from the academic world and aid organisations, was mounted at the Institute of Administration, Zaria by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences during July 1966. The proceedings of the Conference were directed by Dean Donald C. Stone of the Graduate School of Public and International

Affairs, University of Pittsburg, and the Director-General of the I.I.A.S., Mr. Paul-A. Schillings. The Institute of Administration at Zaria is an integral part of the Ahmadu Bello University and the course was inaugurated by an address by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. I. S. Audu.

The Conference was attended by representatives from institutions in the Sudan, Somalia, West and Northern Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Basutoland. From French speaking Africa there were representatives from Niger, Kinshasa (Congo) and Madagascar. In addition CAFRAD was represented by its Director, and there were participants from institutes in Spain and the Lebanon. Rather more than half the "practitioners" attending the Conference were nationals of the countries they represented. Efficient simultaneous translation facilities enabled the proceedings of the Conference to be conducted in French and English. As far as organisations outside Africa were concerned the U.N. Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations, and the U.N./E.C.A. were both represented by senior officials. U.S./A.I.D., the U.K. Ministry of Overseas Development, the Ford Foundation and the African Studies Centre, Boston University (U.S.A.) also sent participants.

Members of the Conference were comfortably accommodated at the Institute of Administration and during the course of their stay visits were arranged to the Staff Development Centre and a modern printing press, both in Kaduna, and a courtesy call was paid on the Emir of Zaria.

The Conference dealt with four main topics:—

1. *The need to estimate personnel requirements for development administration and to devise programmes of education and training for such personnel.*

It was generally accepted that the phrase "development administration' does not indicate an entirely new administrative process. At the same time it does provide a convenient way of differentiating the administrative procedures and techniques required to deal with the problems of development from the forms of administration used to meet the needs of countries in Africa during the colonial period prior to independence.

The Conference stressed the point that effective and economic training must depend to a large extent upon the formulation of accurate estimates of high level manpower requirements. In many countries in Africa at the present time this might necessitate external assistance to conduct such surveys if they were to be completed soon enough to be of value.

The representative of U.S./A.I.D. suggested that it might be more effective if A.I.D. support for training in Africa during the next phase of development were to be concentrated in the sphere of management. It was the view of A.I.D. that management training both in the public and private sector was the most urgent need in Africa at present if development plans were to be successfully implemented within an acceptable period of time. A.I.D. might accordingly consider setting up a management training service based on some suitable centre in Africa with the object of supplying teaching staff and training materials to any Africa country which desired assistance in its management training programmes.

2. *Relations between Governments/Universities and Schools/Institutes of Administration.*

Discussion on this question divided participants into two camps. One faction considered that Institutes existed to meet governmental require-

ments for training and research for the public service and should therefore be government controlled organisations. The opposing party urged that Institutes should be progressively up-graded with the ultimate object of incorporation within an appropriate faculty of a University. In general the African directors present preferred the concept of an organisation controlled by government on the grounds that an independent unit, lacking close contact with government, would almost certainly find it difficult to enlist full confidence and support from government.

3. *Co-operation between Schools and Institutes of Administration within Africa.*

This subject was perhaps of most practical interest to the African participants, and the hope was expressed that U.N./E.C.A. would be able to follow up the suggestion that there should be an annual meeting of Directors of Institutes at varying centres in Africa. It was thought that such meetings might well be linked with conferences on topics allied to public administration whether organised on a regional, Pan-African or international basis. There was general agreement that practical co-operation could only be built up effectively on the basis of personal contacts established at conferences such as the one at Zaria. It seemed to be generally agreed that in present circumstances little practical progress towards inter-territorial co-operation between institutes could be achieved by means of approaches through normal government channels.

4. *Research and Advisory Services in Public Administration in Africa.*

Although it was accepted that research is basic to the effective operation of any training institution it was apparent that few, if any, Institutes in Africa had the necessary staff at present to undertake significant research projects. The need to convince senior civil servants of the desirability of research was emphasised, but it was pointed out that this could only be done if the research proposed could be justified by increased operational efficiency in the government machine. Such increase in efficiency would mainly stem from the production of up-to-date training materials based on the results of the research undertaken.

Everyone attending this conference appreciated the opportunity to exchange views and experiences and to discuss general aspects of training policy in a free and frank atmosphere. A number of useful personal contacts were established between Directors of African Institutes, and from the point of view of the overseas observers the conference provided first hand information on the practical problems and pressures which face Directors of Institutes in Africa. It is to be hoped that U.N./E.C.A. will be successful in implementing the proposal that a conference of this kind should become an annual event in the training world in Africa.

TANZANIA – *Staff development training*

The recent publication by the Tanzanian Government of a prospectus for the Civil Service Training Centre in Dar es Salaam coincides with the conclusion of an interesting project in staff development training financed by the Ministry of Overseas Development. The Civil Service Training Centre, which was officially opened on the 13th July, 1963 now comprises a fine classroom and administrative block together with a students hostel, on a

separate site, for 120 male students. Women students attending courses at the Centre are accommodated in the womens hostel at the Technical College and transport is provided by the Centre to collect students each day to bring them to the classroom block. The establishment of senior posts at the Centre consists of the Principal and Vice-Principal together with nineteen instructors, a bursar and three supporting staff members. As at June, 1966 the Principal, one chief instructor and six senior instructors were expatriates. All the remaining posts were held by Tanzanian citizens. The Centre is well supplied with teaching materials and equipment including a language laboratory and a wide range of audio visual aids. A library of some 8,000 volumes is maintained together with a film library containing approximately 200 instructional films and film strips. The number of courses held per year has risen from 39 in 1962 to 63 in 1965 and the number of students passing out has risen from 615 to 1,206 during the same period.

To assist the activities of the Centre specialist training officers from the United Kingdom Civil Service were made available for duty in Dar es Salaam. As originally envisaged these training officers were to improve and intensify pre-service, in-service and inter-departmental training for the Tanzanian Civil Service. In addition they were to introduce training schemes suited to local conditions in Tanzania and to advise on the allocation of duties for senior posts in such a way as to facilitate localization training. The leader of the team took up his post in February, 1962 and was joined by three colleagues during March. The training priorities agreed upon were as follows:—

(*a*) To set up a comprehensive range of common cadre training in such accommodation as was available.

(*b*) To train local instructors and training officers in modern techniques, and to establish regular instructor/training officer courses including specialist subjects common to all training programmes.

(*c*) To assist Departmental Training Centres to develop their own programmes and to impart teaching techniques suited to changing circumstances.

(*d*) To prepare, and initially to present, new departmental training courses of a specialist nature.

It soon became apparent from the size of the training problem that a team of 4 officers could not achieve all that was hoped for within two years. At the end of its first tour in March, 1964, arrangements were made to increase the team to a total of 5 officers and subsequently to six. In order to achieve aim (*a*) above the team operated in close conjunction with the plans for establishing a permanent Civil Service Training Centre. As the Civil Service Training Centre built up its regular programme of training courses the team gradually withdrew from the Centre and concentrated on the other aims mentioned above which were more strictly concerned with training development functions.

Work towards the achievement of aim (*b*) was continuous, but the turnover of instructors has been such that it will be some time before the final objective is attained. With the passage of time more and more detailed attention was given to objectives (*c*) and (*d*) and considerable progress was made towards instructor training, the setting up of training officers, and training advisory

services for individual Ministries. Members of the team travelled widely in Tanzania visiting departmental Training Centres at which they prepared and ran courses designed to meet specific needs. Apart from common cadre training for clerical and executive officers special courses were mounted for such different posts as junior accountants, switchboard operators, establishment assistants, police officers, local government officers, forest rangers, prisons officers, area secretaries, stores assistants and inspectors of works. During the course of its time in Tanzania the team and the instructors it has trained have handled some 3,400 trainees. 2,700 attended common cadre and general courses, 500 received specialist training as part of departmental training programmes and 200 followed full time specialist courses at departmental centres.

It is to be hoped that the activities of the team have made a significant contribution towards solving some of the training problems of the middle-management cadres of the Tanzanian Civil Service and that the local instructors produced by the team will be able to develop the wide range of regular training at all levels which is a basic requirement for any progressive civil administration.

Development Administration – *Statements worth noting*

"Decentralization of public decision-making and public finance helps to secure a better regional balance of public expenditure".

"A good Civil Service is thus even to some extent a pre-requisite of rapid growth. In this respect the record of under-developed countries is poor; failure to establish systems of recuitment and promotion based on merit leads to inefficiency; failure to pay competitive salaries leads to corruption; and failure to delineate the respective roles of professional administrators and of party politicians leads to confused decision-making. Development planning is hardly practicable until a country has established a Civil Service capable of implementing plans".

"Plans which are made in the capital city without a regionally balanced network of committees tend to spend most of the money on the capital; this cannot happen when private citizens from all over are allowed to participate in drawing up the Plan."

"The public would understand the cost of demanding more public services more easily, and would regulate its demand more intelligently, if the control and financing of those services which cater to individual needs were decentralized to the lowest administrative levels consistent with enjoying economies of scale. The central Government can impose necessary standardization without operating or financing the service."
(Professor Arthur Lewis in '*Development Planning*')

"Because many events cannot be foreseen, development plans may have to be of a more flexible nature – certain projects may have to be postponed until the opportunity for their instigation arrives; others may have to be slowed down or interrupted. This calls for more extensive administrative ability than does the execution of a programme on the best economic and technical premises. It is possible, therefore, for the apparent lack of continuity to have been the only administrative alternative in a given case. Too

little attention has been given to this aspect of development administration."
(Egbert de Vries and L. Zimmerman of the Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, at meeting of experts, Paris, 1964)

"Most plans were not producing expected results. They bogged down in execution. In many cases, plans consisted primarily of a statement of goals and statistical projections, without adequately specifying programmes and projects. Where programmes and projects were clearly defined and evaluated, administrative capabilities were often lacking to implement them."

"In examining development efforts in many countries, I have endeavored to find out why development is not taking place more rapidly. What are the obstacles and what can be done about them? It is clear that the obstacles are primarily political and administrative, not economic."
(Donald C. Stone, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, Pittsburgh).

"The role of the administration in development planning is conditioned by the activities of political, economic and social institutions. Where the administration is limited in its means of taking action, there is the danger that the plan will be a mere frame of reference without any practical significance for either the private or the public sectors. There is further the dual role of the administration, namely, the planning function which is directed towards expansion, and the management function which is concerned with stable currency, budgetary equilibrium and balance of payments (i.e. "stabilization measures"). When the latter role of the administration is made to conflict with the former, there is even greater danger of stagnation and lack of self-sustained growth."

"The administrative factors in planning could not be meaningfully studied, except in an over-all context of complex relations. No special model for administrative organization could be used as a criterion for classifying the various national experiments. The successive stages of development in the national economy called for corresponding changes in the organizational forms. Just as planning was a process of continual creation, so the administration had to continually adapt itself to such development in order to encourage progress."
Extracts from Report (Administration of National Development Planning – meeting of Experts, Paris, June 1964).

"To a greater degree than ever before country development is placing new tasks on public administration and demands that new values and attitudes pervade its practical conduct."

"The need for a creative approach to country development focuses attention upon the need for a positive, goal-oriented administrative system. And, the more pressing become the demands placed on government for development, the more complicated, intricate, technical, and extensive become the public administration factors which must be taken into consideration. It seems that there is a particularistic element of dynamism inseparable from development which demands public administration to exercise a pattern of behaviour – to try, to apply, to adapt, to follow the "now a new need, now a new opportunity"."

"Though the dawn has been clouded and goals cannot be easily defined, the vitality of country development depends on the rejuvenation of public administration even in the darkness of insufficient knowledge and experience".

"The ethic of public administration calls for:

Coverting general aspirations regarding country development into a realistic programme of action, including goals, work targets, and datelines based on the character and traditions of its people, maintaining nevertheless a tempo of accomplishment.

Providing a strategy for development by isolating and emphasizing the apparently strategic without getting tied up in irrelevancies and trivialities, a dedication thereto beyond the grip of the practice of the past.

Knowing the difference between action and inaction; that is, between alternatives of action, their contemporary and long-range consequences, and the effects of inaction and inertia or letting things take their natural course – between when to stand fast and when to give ground.

Striving for ways other than precedent, which will enable the handling of a unique situation uniquely.

Undertaking continuous re-evaluation and reappraisal of public administration processes to verify whether they are relevant to the demands of the time, and, consequently, revise and redeploy them, keeping in mind that perfection, if at all attainable, is far distant, and that every generation of men has a share in it.

(Evangelos John Rizos, in 'Country Development, the New Ethic of Public Administration', published in the *International Review of Administrative Sciences;* vol. xxxi-1965, No. 4).

Book Reviews

Development Finance: Planning and Control, by URSULA K. HICKS, *Clarendon Press, Oxford;* pp. 187; 28s.

This book should be prescribed reading for all those planners, politicians, administrators, technocrats and economists who have to do with the decision making processes involving a nation's economic development. Especially the economists; and particularly those economists who become ensconced as high priests of finance and development. For, even more than the simple minded politicians, administrators and managers struggling with the hard down to earth business of making decisions and sticking their necks out in the process, the economists and planners who appear to speak with such confidence and aplomb upon all aspects of development tend to get lost, and to flounder, once they are outside the smooth ivory walls of their constant models. Economic advisers might even practice "finance" a little, with this as a working hand-book.

Ursula Hicks examines the field of development, in all its financial aspects, concentrating very rightly upon the array of actual problems which have confronted, and continue to bedevil, all efforts at economic advancement in what she calls the "development countries". These problems are concerned with what one might call on the one hand the "statics" of development, the situation as given: recent independence, a geometric rate of population increase, the existing institutional structures and modes of finance administration; and on the other hand the dynamics of economic development, in the context mainly a centrally planned development, such as programme choice and priorities; development strategy, especially the financial arrangements including loans and aid from abroad; building new financial institutions to meet the needs of development; taxation patterns and programmes; devising fiscal and financial relationships between the central and the regional governments; planning, estimating, budgetting and controlling expenditure.

The author speaks with the confidence and the authority that can only come from practicing the art. She has been responsible for giving financial advice in countries as many and as wide apart as Nigeria, Jamaica, Ceylon, Uganda, the Caribbean, and India. She has also given courses of lectures in Oxford University to students drawn from different parts of the world, on the "Financial Problems of Emergent Countries". What she has to say in the body of the book reflects her close acquaintance with the problems of finance as they have actually been found to occur, and is therefore worth careful attention by those who are involved in development planning, and decision making, and by those who are appointed to advise them.

The book focuses mainly upon the newly independent countries; but much of what the author has to say surely is of wider application. Which is not a "development" country, or a "developing" country? It was only recently that a speaker on the B.B.C. referred to the time in the future, when Britain would attain a "more sophisticated" industrial and economic system.

There are many lessons to be learnt from the experience gained in the last fifteen years or so, the post-war development era. It is exactly here that the book is of greatest value.

The author cautions against the over-quick and uncritical acceptance of foreign aid, and commends developing countries "to ponder the motives behind the proferred gift, even to the point of politely refusing it if it is inappropriate to their needs". She lists some of the snags to look for: the exclusion of perhaps more beneficial alternatives; the weight of complementary expenditure to accommodate the gift. There are others, and there is no dearth of samples, where developing countries have had to learn the lesson the hard way.

The tendency to over-borrow from abroad is universal, and chronic. The over-borrowing grows insidiously, and little is ever done to guard against it. Economic advisers remain strangely silent; or even show impatience with their lesser brethren, the finance advisers, whose unhappy duty it is to watch the national balance sheets.

The author has this to say: "There are only two effective ways in which a country that has overborrowed can extricate itself from its difficulties. Either export income must increase sufficiently to carry the burden of the debt, in addition to providing for essential imports, or domestic output must rise sufficiently to enable additional tax revenue to be raised, out of which the government can provide the requisite funds. Neither of these solutions is likely to be easy. At the same time for most development countries neither should be quite impossible, if they make a determined effort, and do not relax in the comforting belief that the advanced countries can be relied on to supply ever increasing aid, on political if not on humanitarian or economic grounds."

How many governments have learnt this? Which of the aid givers have sufficiently warned, leave alone tried effectively to protect, their "wards" against over-borrowing?

In dealing with direct investment by foreign firms, any government of an independent developing country which has gone through the frustrations of endeavour will agree with Ursula Hicks' conclusion:

> "Even those development countries most anxious to encourage the entry of foreign firms in order to diversify their economies would do well to observe certain precautions.
>
> "In the first place it should always be a condition of granting a permit that a separate local company should be registered – or at least that it should be an entity that keeps separate accounts. If this is done there is a better prospect that there will be a self-contained balance sheet on which taxation can unequivocally be assessed. If the application is by a company wishing to produce and export primary products it should be insisted that as large an amount of processing as possible should be completed within the country: that alumina rather than bauxite should be exported, or that an oil firm should set up a refinery when, say, 5 million tons of crude are being extracted per annum. The main object of this precaution is to secure for the country as much value added as possible; this is both of economic and of fiscal importance. If the company is not well known, with an established reputation, a development country should make very careful enquiries about its previous record. (If this had been done in the past much loss and disappointment might have been avoided.) It must be borne in mind that, unless the home market is potentially large enough to absorb the output of a plant sufficiently large to secure basic economies of

scale, export markets will have to be invaded. This implies really high standards of workmanship and marketing. The development country should satisfy itself on all these points before granting a permit.

"It is a reinsurance for both parties to the transaction if a partnership can be arranged, in the sense of a joint Board of Directors. The local resident directors would no doubt be suggested by the Industrial Development Corporation (or similar body). If this is done there is no danger of the firm remaining a foreign enclave; it will be part of the structure of the economy. This danger is in any case much smaller than it was. With rapid air communications, once the factory is firmly established, the foreign directors will tend not to reside. They will merely visit the installations from time to time to assure themselves that everything is running smoothly.

"This form of borrowing for development is already of considerable importance, and the prospects for its expansion are brightening. It is generally agreed that the easiest way in which the advanced countries can assist the development countries to expand their exports is by accepting a larger volume of simple manufactured goods and processed raw materials."

It predicates a degree of enlightened and far seeing entrepreneurship, that all too often one looks for in vain amongst investors abroad.

Ursula Hicks has a word for the planners: "Far too often finance has been the cinderella of planners". There is a typical example of it in that country of planning and of planners: India.

"What passes as an adequate array of taxing and borrowing suggestions has been trumped up at the end to look respectable, instead of being thought out alongside, to watch the expenditure structure", says the author. Exactly for this reason there is for the world to see no adequately contructed Fourth Plan in India today, although that country's Third Plan period has gone. This, after nearly two decades of what goes for national planning. Let others note carefully, and beware. You must have a financial programme, if you wish to plan at all.

But surely the author falls into the same fallacy that haunts all western writers and "experts" on economic planning in the newly independent countries, namely, the fear of quick industrialisation. These new nations must industrialise, and far faster than they are doing, if they are to make any progress at all towards a degree of economic self reliance and independence. Agriculture must be managed as an industry. The modernising of agriculture to achieve any sufficient increase of productivity beyond the "scratch-cultivation" of backward agricultural economies depends upon industrial activity of an entirely different order. This means steelworks, fertilizer factories, electric energy and the equipment to produce, distribute and use it, and so on, to a new level of industrialisation altogether. Private entrepreneurs, foreign as well as domestic, will hardly agree with the author when she says that "in the early stages of development, large and complicated works should be avoided". The restraint should be, not so much upon the development of industry, as upon the propensity to consume out of marginal income, and upon the elasticity of supply of consumer goods, (as to which the author rightly utters some needed caution) so as to bias the industrial investments and efforts towards producer goods.

S. S. KHERA.

The Customary Laws of Succession in Eastern Nigeria, by NWAKAMMA OKONO, *Sweet & Maxwell, London. African University Press, Lagos,* 1966; pp. 242. £2 17s 6d.

The writer of this book is well equipped for his task. He obtained academic qualifications from four different English universities (including a Cambridge Ph.D. for the thesis on which the present work is based), and he is now a Barrister and Solicitor of the Supreme Court of Nigeria and Director of the Eastern Nigeria Customary Laws Restatement Scheme.

Dr. Okoro begins by considering the problems of classification which arise from the existence of at least eighteen distinct ethnic groups in Eastern Nigeria and from the corresponding diversity of patterns of customary law. He decides in favour of the following system of classification: patrilineal, bilineal and matrilineal. He then gives an account (largely descriptive) of the categories of heritable property constituting an "estate" and of the rights and interests which may exist in respect of such property.

Before proceeding to the substantive law which governs the devolution and distribution of property on death, Dr. Okoro deals, under the heading of 'Administration of Estates', with questions of procedure, machinery and jurisdiction. One recognises here the approach of the English-trained lawyer. Broadly speaking, Dr. Okono's method is to start with the categories, concepts and technical language of English law and to see how far the data of African experience can be fitted into the framework thus provided. Applied with discretion, this is a perfectly legitimate method and one which reflects the actual trend of legal evolution in modern Nigeria.

The position is somewhat different when Dr. Okoro comes to deal – in five chapters which form the central core of the work – with the customary laws of succession. The rules are stated in some detail, and distinctions are made between different ethnic groups and different systems of succession (patrilineal etc.). But for his researches in this field Dr. Okoro has not been able to draw on sources of the kind normally taken for granted by students of English law. Only at isolated points is customary law to be found embodied in reported decisions; it is indeed, as the author points out, a matter for proof by expert evidence in the "general" (i.e. non-customary) courts. Dr. Okoro has been obliged to cast his net more widely; and, as he explains in the Preface, he has relied (*inter alia*) on the writings of social anthropologists and on information which he himself obtained between April and September 1962 "from the Judges (who are the authorities on this subject) of the various Customary Courts in Eastern Nigeria." In some instances the text is illustrated by reference to unreported decisions of these customary courts.

Towards the end of the book Dr. Okoro has an important chapter on the problems of "internal conflict of laws" – problems characteristic of the present situation in African countries which have inherited from the colonial period a dualistic legal system, i.e. a system in which a plurality of local customary laws survives in co-existence with a "general law" of largely non-indigenous origin. The argument here is conducted mainly on the basis of enacted law and of reported decisions of the higher courts in Nigeria.

This competent, well-written treatise is not only likely to be of value to academic specialists and practitioners, but will engage the interest of a wider circle of readers of this *Journal*. One final observation is perhaps relevant

in this connection. From what Dr. Okoro has written it seems evident that the superior courts of the present day show a less tender concern for customary law as an expression of the "consciousness of the people" than did the administrative officers who formerly exercised powers of review and appellate jurisdiction.

ARTHUR PHILLIPS.

The Structure of Local Government in West Africa, by M. J. CAMPBELL, T. G. BRIERLY, L. F. BLITZ, *Martinus Nijhoff The Hague, for the International Union of Local Authorities;* 1965; pp. 421; bibliography, glossary, index and map.

Chapters IV to XVII give a documented description of the state of local government in the former British and French countries and in Liberia, arranged under almost identical headings, general background (including a list of legislation about local government), historical background, organization, powers and functions, finance, staff, relationship with the state, elections, traditional institutions, politics in local government. The cut-off date is 1st January, 1964, but there is an addendum giving the principal changes up to 1st January, 1965. In chapters II and III Campbell and Brierly respectively describe the distinguishing features of English-speaking and French-speaking West Africa. In Chapter I these two authors, joined by Dr. Blitz and armed with facts to an extent which no previous author has been able to encompass, compare local government trends in the whole region.

There is a comprehensive bibliography, a glossary of English and French terms, an index and a map.

Great praise is due to the authors (all one-time colleagues at the Institute of Administration, Zaria, Northern Nigeria) for their industry in collecting the facts, which, as any practitioner knows, are far from easy to obtain, and more especially for their insight and skill in arranging the information about British – and French – type local administration in such a way as for the first time to make comparison a feasible proposition. Up to now it has only been possible to obtain descriptions in parallel, but the need for a direct comparison has for some time been pressing, considering that for the inhabitants of these countries their division into English-speaking and French-speaking peoples is of little importance beside the fact that they all live in the same region of the World, in much the same conditions and in much the same state of development.

Future research workers and specialists may agree with the authors that the core of this study is in the 14 country Chapters (p. 15), but administrators and policy-makers (the book is not for the general reader) are likely to find more to interest them in Chapters II and III and still more in Chapter I.

On p. 252 there is a sentence about South-East Nigeria in 1928: "the new authorities when set up were small and financially impotent, but they no longer stirred tribal jealousies". Permute the terms of this sentence how you will and they still describe the main local government problem in West Africa, a problem which if left alone might evaporate in time but is unlikely to yield to any mechanical solution. The trouble is that it may be a generation before it disappears naturally and in the meantime it inevitably invites the

impatient attention of political parties, particularly dictatorial ones. Changes which are politically motivated may seem to be subjective and random and will be passionately supported or opposed as the case may be. Yet seen over a sufficiently large area and over a sufficiently long time, they are almost sure to display a trend. The lesson of this book is that no matter what the starting point, conditions are inexorable and a trend will set in. By identifying and describing trends during the past generation, the authors will have helped policy makers to spot more quickly and discerningly the trends in the next generation and give them strength to withstand political gusts.

The general Editor, Mr. M. Faltas of the International Union of Local Authorities, has imposed a uniform and lucid style on their composite work so that it is as easy to read as one can expect of such a specialized work so crammed with facts. Though readers with special interests may pick out some mistakes, none has caught my eye – and I hope this remark turns out, as intended, a credit to the authors/editors and not a reflection on the reviewer.

There are, however, a few misprints to be corrected in the next edition. They do not mar the text and are not worth mentioning here – except the one on p. 6 which deprives (surely) Mrs. L. F. Blitz of the credit due to her.

C. A. G. WALLIS.

The Native and Customary Courts of Nigeria, by E. A. KEAY and S. S. RICHARDSON (No. 18 in the Law of Africa series), xxxii, 381 pp., *Sweet and Maxwell, London, African Universities Press, Lagos,* 1966, £3 17s. 6d. in U.K.; paperback in Africa 15s.

Nigeria has a dual or should one say multifarious system of courts and law for the courts; for the courts, other than the superior courts in which common lawyers sit, in the different regions exhibit so many points of difference that they cannot be described by one name and it is impossible to define by statute their jurisdiction and powers, Each court has a warrant defining these things, issued, before the establishment of the present military regime, by or with the approval of a regional minister. Where the Sharia is the local law, the titles correspond to some extent to those in the common law but where it is a mixture of the Sharia and custom or custom alone, the difficulties in defining jurisdiction in relation to subject matter are considerable. Generally civil jurisdiction extends to matrimonial causes, succession, gaurdianship, title to and right to occupy land and actions for debt and damages; criminal jurisdiction is confined, for the most part, to minor crimes. There are grades of courts and pecuniary limits may be set. Whether a person is amenable to the courts also creates difficulties; it is said to depend on whether he is ordinarily subject to their jurisdiction and his mode of life, criteria which obviously require considerable amplification. Disputes as to jurisdiction appear often to be raised successfully after trial. The territorial jurisdiction of the courts is limited and error of venue renders proceedings void. Only in the Western region are the judges selected by a service board. Appeals lie to the regional High Court but an intermediate appeal may be necessary; cases decided under the Sharis go to the Sharia Court of Appeal. There are also administrative advisory authorities with wide powers of interference, which may be exercised *suo motu.*

The authors were obviously faced with a formidable task and they have dealt with a wide variety of complicated matters in remarkably little space. The history of the development of the system, with which the book commences, explains why greater uniformity has not been possible and it includes a cautionary take for parliamentary draftsmen in the account of *Tsofo Gubba's* case at pp. 46-51. The events of January 1966 do not appear to have affected the usefulness of the book to any considerable extent. The powers and jurisdiction of the courts and their procedure are comprehensively set out, so that they can readily be understood by a reader learned in the common law. Whether the book will be easily intelligible to the "despised and rejected laymen who administer justice to the people of Nigeria", to whom it is dedicated, may be another matter.

ALAN GLEDHILL.

Commonwealth and Colonial Law, by Sir KENNETH ROBERTS-WRAY. *Stevens and Sons, London.* Pp. 1008 with Index, £8 10s.

When one considers the haphazard and untidy way in which Britain acquired her Empire and the Empire developed, it is not surprising to find these same characteristics marked the development of British Colonial Law. The acquisition of dependent territories did not take place in the context of any theory or code of any specifically imperial law. When a theory did develop, it did so, in a typically English fashion, as a theory of jurisdiction and powers and as a result of decisions in the courts; its source was the common law and the Crown's prerogative in foreign affairs. Parliament added little, if anything, to the theory and its contribution to the substance of the *lex do imperie* (even in the case of such statutes as the British Settlements Acts and the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts) was, by and large, confined to supplementing the rules enunciated by the courts and removing doubts as to the extent of their application. A body of law which develops in this way grows slowly and fitfully; it is not necessarily consistent. As Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray points out, "earlier theories of colonial law were understandably vague (a malaise which afflicted Acts of Parliament) and . . . questionable assumptions of law in statutes are not necessarily correct". The growth of the Empire and of the law in this way explains the remarkable diversity in status of the various dependencies, and the proliferation (even in a field naturally susceptible to political loan words) of the categories and definitions of territories and forms of government.

The development of the law relating to imperial jurisdiction was accompanied by the development of the constitutional laws of individual territories. Here again the development in relation to each territory was basically a matter of jurisdiction – the widening jurisdiction of organs of the dependency – accompanied by the convention which increasingly inhibited the exercise of the powers of Parliament and the sovereign in council until, with independence, the latter were extinguished. But in this field, unlike that of the development of the imperial law, the traditions of settlers and the policy of the United Kingdom imposed a pattern from an early stage.

It is with these two bodies of law and their interaction – the only fields of law with a specifically colonial content that lend themselves to systematic

treatment – that the author is primarily concerned. As the Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office from 1945 to 1960 – the years of *merdoka* and *uhuru* – Sir Kenneth is uniquely qualified. The central chapters of the book constitute a comprehensive and systematic exposition of the organic laws of empire and the legal development of dependency into an independent state. The author's treatment of the sources and authorities are particularly important. Old friends Campbell v. Hall, the Lord Bishop of Natal and Macleod are re-examined and the author's conclusions qualify more traditional views of their effect. The statutes are put in the context of the doubts, problems and the contemporary practice which called them forth – a service which is invaluable to those (and they are not confined to the historians) who find themselves called upon to form a view on the more obscure, and in some cases apparently superfluous, portions of this part of the statute book (section 1 of the Colonial Probates (Protected States and Mandated Territories) Act, 1927 is an example).

But this is more than a scholarly account of the law of institutions which are fast disappearing. So far as a book in this field can be a practitioners' book, this is one, and the attainment of independence by the greater part of the colonial territories does not limit its utility or value. In the colonial field, it is true, the paths of independence which Sir Kenneth and his colleagues helped to lay during the past two decades may not provide precedents for the constitutional development of the remaining territories and now solutions will be found. One such – that of the associated states – is now being worked out for the Caribbean "Little Six". But the basic laws – the starting points for new work – remain as they are stated in this book. So too in much of the Independent Commonwealth this body of doctrine and laws forms the ground floor of the constitutional and legal structure. Even in these countries where the Westminster model has given way to other forms of constitutional structure, the influence of this inheritance is surprisingly strong.

In that field of law which applies in relation to (as distinct from applying to) Commonwealth countries and their citizens and affairs (the laws relating to evidence, the registration of judgements and such matters), the changes of the last two decades have had hardly any effect. The preservation of laws clauses in what (in the trade) are called first and second stage independence Acts give some meaning to Disraeli's aphorism that "colonies do not cease to be colonies because they are independent". Hitherto this material has only been found tucked away in the encyclopaedic works or incidentally in the authorities in the various substantive fields. It is now collected together in the later chapters of Sir Kenneth's work.

There are two other features of this book which must be mentioned as they provide a ready and complete collection of facts and a reference to sources which have otherwise to be sought over a wide and not always easily accessible area. These are the first chapter on terminology and the first appendix which contains notes on individual Commonwealth countries both independent and dependent. The latter can get out of date very quickly (the notes on Ghana, Nigeria, Bechuanaland and Basutoland already need expanding) and an occasional supplement would be very welcome.

P. F.

Other Books Received

Administrative Questions and Political Answers, edited by CLAUDE E. HAWLEY and RUTH G. WEINTRAUB, *D. Van Nostrant Company, Inc.* Princeton, N.J.; pp. 604; $4·95.

This work was produced to honour the twenty-fifth anniversary of the U.S. 'Public Administration Review'.

The massive volume of 604 pages is a compendium of selected articles from the 'Review' over the past twenty-five years. The articles have been edited and arranged under the headings of 'Theory', 'Political Setting', 'Administrative Practice', 'Personnel', 'Comparative Administration' and 'Education and Training'.

As a comprehensive exposition of the emergent trends in public administration in the United States this work will be of value to both student and practitioner.

International Technical Assistance Experts. (A case study of U.N. experience), by YONAH ALEXANDER, *Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.*, U.S.A., 1966, pp. 221.

Dr. Alexander who is Associate Professor of Political Science in the State University of New York (College of Oneonta) where he teaches International Relations and International Organisation, has, in writing this book made an important contribution to our understanding of personnel problems of international administration. His meticulous study of the special characteristics of technical assistance experts, the standards applied and the machinery for their recruitment, is limited to United Nations experience, but his findings and conclusions will be of value to all agencies engaged in the field of technical assistance.

Africa and the Common Market – a Perspective, by ARNOLD RIVKIN; *University of Denver*, U.S.A. 1966; pp. 67.

Dr. Rivkin has produced a revised edition of his monograph first published in 1964. A full and up-to-date picture is, as a result, provided of the relationship between the African Eighteen (Nineteen with Nigeria) and the European Six. Dr. Rivkin, in his final chapter, puts cogently, indeed surely beyond sensible argument, the case for an an African Common Market developing as a complementary institution to the European Common market and not as a substitute or alternative – a course which would see the odds so heavily stacked against success that the risk could not be worth taking.

A Geography of Ghana, (Second Edition), by Professor E. A. BOATENG. *Cambridge University Press*, 1966; pp. 212. 15s.

Professor Boateng who is Professor of Geography at the University of Ghana has produced a second edition of his valuable "Geography of Ghana" first published eight years ago.

This is far more than a corrected first edition. The country's development plans have transformed landscapes and new factual information, such as that provided by the modern population census conducted in 1960, have necessitated the production of what is virtually a new book. This Geography of Ghana will command a reading public wider than the student body for whom it is primarily intended.

Social Change at Larteh, Ghana, by DAVID W. BROKENSHA, *Oxford University Press*, 1966; pp. 294 with glossary, bibliography and index; 40s.

Mr. Brokensha's study is produced in the series of Oxford monographs on social anthropology and provides a detailed examination of changing social institutions at Larteh a rural town some thirty miles north of Accra. Mr. Brokensha concludes that the commonly held view that economic progress leads to the breakdown of traditional culture is not sustained at Larteh where he found that social change had brought not conflict but adaptation, old and new forms blending and achieving accommodation in most areas of social life.

Frend Aid, by TERESA HAYTER; *Overseas Development Institute*, 1966; pp. 230 with glossary and index; 20s.

After providing the historical and economic background to French Aid and a picture as to the methods by which it is administered, Teresa Hayter proceeds to a study of this Aid in particular Geographical areas and in the multi-lateral field. The massive size of French Aid, largely concentrated on former Colonies with tropical Africa central to the French effort, is brought out clearly and in detailed form.

Problems of Economic Growth and Planning: the Sudan Example, by ROLF GUSTEN; *Springer-Verlag*, 1966; pp. 61; dm 13·50.

This study of the current Ten Year Plan in the Sudan was undertaken by Rolf Gusten for the African Studies Centre of the Ifo-Institute. Divided into two parts (i) the economic structure and the plan, and (ii) an appraisal of the growth targets and potential and supported by detailed statistics and diagrams, a remarkable amount of economic information is packed into the relatively few pages of this booklet. He draws attention to the policy of 'spearhead development' which has been adopted under which investment is concentrated in the naturally most advantageous areas with a view to benefiting the whole economy in the long term, rather than a 'watering can' policy of sharing out investment in all, including marginal areas. The special risks that this involves in the Sudan with its two ethnically different groups are noted.

Research on the Bureaucracy of Pakistan, by RALPH BRAIBANTI, *Duke University Press*, Durham, W.C., pp. 569 with Glossary and Index. $12·50.

The author describes this work as "An essay which is essentially a critique of bibliographical sources from research and of conditions and directions from research on bureaucracy." The first 96 pages describe and discuss the environment for this particular research, and the last 200 pages consists of important public Addresses and Press Releases relating to aspects of administrative reform in Pakistan. The intervening pages contain an ordered guide through a mass of important reports and other documents which explain the evolution and forms of the bureaucratic machinery. Pages 330 to 343 contain some interesting observations by the author, not least of which is – "that all segments of institutional behaviour and attitudes bear an ecological relationship to the total social order in which they are implicated". The inference being that the study of Bureaucracy in Pakistan may throw a good deal of light on an understanding of the total social order of that country.

Peasantry in Revolution, by MEHMET BEQIRAJ. *Center for International Studies*, Cornell University; pp. 121 with Index, $2·50.

This theoretical work makes a contribution to the understanding of social change in contemporary peasant populations.

It is not a study of any particular peasant community. It is a study of that category of persons, vast in their numbers throughout the world, who cannot comprehend the factors and principles underlying their activities.

Briefly, the theory expanded is that a person who cannot comprehend his environment cannot master it to any significant degree.

It presents a pathetic idea of the peasantry, the antithesis of the idea of "the noble savage".

Professor Beqiraj who was born in Albania drew information for his thesis from living and working among peasant groups in Europe and the Near East. The dependance upon the co-operation of peasant communities for development in underdeveloped countries is such that a profound study of the phenomena of social change in such communities should not be ignored.

While the theory developed deserves attention by the anthropologist, the sociologist and the psychologist, it also contains much that is food for thought for the politician and the administrator.

South Africa, by MONICA COLE, *Methuen,* 1966; pp. 706 including maps, photographs and index; £5 5s.

The first edition of Professor Monica Coles comprehensive Geography of South Africa was published in 1961. The work had been completed in 1957, so this second edition takes account of the period of sustained growth in all spheres of economic activity since that year. Of particular interest in this new edition are the special chapters on the Bantu economy and a completely new section on the proposed multi-purpose Orange river development project.

When the first edition appeared it was hailed as being destined to become a standard advanced geographical text-book on this part of the world.

Perhaps the words "geographical text-book" conveys a wrong impression of this immensely valuable work which paints the backcloth and outlines the infra-structure of the complex area which is South Africa.

In these days when the policies pursued in South Africa have become of such deep concern to people throughout the world, a knowledge of the country itself, its economic resources, their distribution and the manner and extent of their mobilisation is essential if balanced assessments are to be made.

Professor Monica Cole, who is Professor of Geography at London University, has performed a mammoth task of great value.

Sources of Family Law, by H. C. HALL; *Cambridge University Press,* pp. 514 with Index. 60s.

This is an up-to-date text-book on English family law and provides in the form of a case book, material which should prove of particular value to University law students.

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